



THE EXHORTATION TO TRADE, INDUSTRY AND WORK

Al-Ḥathth 'alā al-Tijārah wa-al-Ṣinā'ah wa-al-'Amal

By

Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Harūn

AL-KHALLĀL

(234-311/ 849-923)

Translated With Introduction And Notes By

GIBRIL FOUAD HADDAD



THE *EXHORTATION*

TO TRADE, INDUSTRY AND WORK

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الْمَوْلَى الَّذِي هَدَانَا لِهَذَا وَمَا كُنَّا لِنَهْتَدِيَ لَوْلَا إِذْ هَدَىَٰنَا رَبُّنَا إِنَّهُ خَبِيرٌ بِالْعَمَلِ

By

ABŪ BAKR AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. HĀRŪN

AL-KHALLĀL

(234-311/849-923)

Translated with Introduction & Notes by

GIBRIL FOUAD HADDAD

Foreword by

MUSA FURBER

IBFIM

KUALA LUMPUR

2012

First published by
Islamic Banking and Finance Institute of Malaysia (IBFIM)
3rd floor, Dataran Kewangan Darul Takaful,
Jalan Sultan Sulaiman, 5000 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.
Tel. 603-30311010 Fax: 603-20314250 www.ibfim.com

First Edition 2012

© IBFIM

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, duplicated or copied by any means without prior consent of the holder of the copyright, requests for which should be addressed to the publisher. While every care has been taken in the preparation of this publication, no responsibility can be accepted for any errors, however caused.

Publication Manager: Mohd. Zain Abd. Rahman

Perpustakaan Malaysia Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

al-Khallāl, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn (234-311/849-923).

The exhortation to trade, industry and work (*al-ḥathth ‘alā al-tijāra wal-ṣinā‘a wal-‘amal*). / Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Khallāl. Translated with introduction and notes by Gibril Fouad Haddad. Foreword by Musa Furber. Kuala Lumpur: IBFIM, 2012.

Includes glossaries, bibliographical references and indices.

ISBN

1. Islamic economics—Early works. 2. Hanbalites. 3. Gibril Fouad Haddad. I. Author. II. Title.

Printed in Malaysia by
Percetakan Mesbah Sdn Bhd (819193-K)
No. 11, Jalan Tun Perak 6, Taman Tun Perak,
43200 Cheras, Selangor Darul Ehsan
Tel: 03-91056473/91056469 Fax: 03-910

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

قال الله تبارك وتعالى:

﴿الَّذِينَ يُقِيمُونَ الصَّلَاةَ وَمِمَّا رَزَقْنَاهُمْ يُنْفِقُونَ﴾

أُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ حَقًّا ﴿من سورة الأنفال ٣-٤﴾

***Those who establish worship and spend of what
We bestow on them: Those are the true believers!***

(from Sūrat al-Anfal 8:3-4)

وقال رسول الله ﷺ:

«يَا عَمْرُو نِعَمَ الْمَالُ الصَّالِحُ لِلْمَرْءِ الصَّالِحِ.»

رواه الإمامان أحمد وأبو يعلى في مُسْنَدَيْهِمَا وقال الهيثمي: رجاله رجال الصحيح

***“O ‘Amr! Righteous wealth for a righteous
person is a wonderful thing.”***

Hadith of the Prophet narrated from ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ by Aḥmad and Abū Ya‘lā in their *Musnads* through narrators used in al-Bukhārī or Muslim.

Contents

Abbreviations 5

Foreword by Dato' Dr. Adnan Alias 7

Foreword by Mufti Musa Furber 9

Introduction 11-41

About this book 11-12

Work in the world with abstinence in the heart 13-14

Imam Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and sufism 14-17

“Wealth is Part of Health” 17-19

Abū Bakr al-Khallāl 19-22

al-Dhahabī's biographical entry on al-Khallāl 20-22

al-Khallāl's terminology of hadith transmission 22-25

His shortest chains of transmission 25

Ibn Ḥajar's “Forms of conveyance” of Hadith 25-26

Editions and manuscripts used in this book 27-30

Errors in Abū Ghudda's edition 29-30

Grading of reports 30-31

Translator's transmission chain for this book 31-33

Illustrations 34-41

Fig. 1-2: Damascus Ms. 116 frontispiece and first page 34

Fig. 3-5: Berlin Ms. frontispiece, first, and last pages 36

Fig. 6-8: Riyadh Ms. frontispiece, first, and last pages 39

THE EXHORTATION TO TRADE, INDUSTRY AND WORK

BY ABŪ BAKR AL-KHALLĀL 43-98

Ibn Qudāma's transmission chain to al-Khallāl 45-46

Trade and financial independence 46-49

Property maintenance and improvement 50-53

Financial self-sufficiency and work 53-56

Licitness (*ḥalāl*) is not negotiable 56-58

The Prophets and *Salaf* worked for hire 57-58

Frugality and savings 58-59

Work is the prerequisite of the purest *ḥalāl* 60-63
 Wealth and property are a help in religion 62-66
 Joining between trade and worship is best 66-70
 Prophets ate from the work of their hands 70-71
 Earning a living and improving your finances is worship,
 not *dunyā* 71-73
 Supporting dependants is a categorical obligation (*fard*)
 comparable to jihad, *tahajjud*, and *ṣiyām* 73-75

The disliked status of eating too little and venturing into deserts without provisions 76-85

The correct parameters of self-deprivation 76-79
 Critiques of Sufis 79-80
 No travel without provisions 80-85

The proof against those who claim that they rely [on Allah] and then quit work 86-93

Difference between reliance and idleness 86-91
 To work oneself out of poverty is superior to taking charity
 89-93

Chapter on truthful reliance 93-97

Absolute reliance is absolute faith 93-97

Biographical glossary of persons cited by al-Khallāl 99-122

Glossary of technical terms 123

Bibliography 125-128

Indices 129-158

Index of Qur'ānic Verses 131

Index of Hadiths 133-134

Index of other sayings 135-140

General index 141-155

About the Translator 157

Abbreviations

Abū ‘Abd Allāh = Aḥmad (b. Muḥammad) b. Ḥanbal

Abū Dāwūd = the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd

Abū Nu‘aym = his *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā’ wa-Ṭabaqāt al-Asfā’*
unless otherwise indicated.

Aḥmad = the *Musnad* of Imam Aḥmad (Maymaniyya 1313/
1895 six-volume edition) unless otherwise indicated

al-Haythamī = his *Majma‘ al-Zawā’id*

Ibn Mājah = the *Sunan* of Ibn Mājah al-Qazwīnī

al-Nasā’ī = the *Sunan* of al-Nasā’ī, also known as *al-Mujtabā*

The Nine Books = the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim;
the four *Sunan* of al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā’ī, Abū Dāwūd and
Ibn Mājah, the *Muwatta’* of Mālik and the *Musnads* of al-
Dārimī and Aḥmad

The Six Books = the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* and four *Sunan*

al-Tirmidhī = the *Sunan* of al-Tirmidhī



Foreword

This excellent annotated translation of the early classical book, Aḥmad al-Khallāl's *Exhortation to Trade*, by the well-known scholar and translator, Dr. Gibril Fouad Haddad, is a welcome addition to our recent series of translations of selected classical Islamic texts on economics, trade and livelihood.

These important texts provide for the discerning reader a clear vision and understanding of the precise relationship between abstinence from the world (*zuhd*) and involvement in the seeking of it (*kasb*). With this understanding and its translation into practice, the worker, businessman, farmer or professional will know how to seek their livelihoods in a manner that leads to their well-being in this world and their felicity in the next world, *in shā Allāh*.

I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. Gibril Fouad Haddad for agreeing and finding time to undertake this important work, and to Dr. Adi Setia for recommending him to us, for indeed, he is most qualified for it. I would also like to thank our publication manager, Mr. Mohd Zain Abd al-Rahman, for commissioning and facilitating this important project to its timely and satisfying completion.

I have no doubt that readers will come away more enlightened about the meaning, function and purpose of working for a living, the importance of wholesome sources of income and revenues, and the moral imperative to avoid whatever that is illicit and doubtful, and thereby contribute more effectively to the positive flourishing of themselves and their communities.

Dato' Dr. Adnan Alias
Chief Executive Officer
IBFIM

Foreword

by Mufti Musa Furber¹

Dr. Gibril Fouad Haddad's translation of Abū Bakr al-Khallāl's *Exhortation to Trade, Industry and Work* introduces readers to *fiqh*-based reliance on Allah and religious scruple (*waraʿ*) as it was conceived of and practiced by the earliest generations of Muslims.

One of the unique characteristics of Ḥanbalī legal literature is the extraordinary attention given to issues typically associated with etiquette, excellence, and virtue (*iḥsān*). While other schools tended to treat these issues as a topic outside of jurisprudence and to fall within tasawwuf, the Ḥanbalī school included these issues within its basic legal texts and developed a genre of legal literature known as *al-ādāb al-sharʿiyya*. Some aspects of this genre are already available to English readers through the writings of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī, whose *Ghunya li-Ṭālibī Ṭarīq al-Ḥaqq* is cited frequently within Ḥanbalī legal texts. Perhaps the best example of this genre is Ibn al-Muflīḥ's *al-Ādāb al-Sharʿiyya*, which aimed to gather all previous writings in the genre within a single book. Ibn Muflīḥ's book was set into a thousand-line poem by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Qawī al-Mirdāwī in *Manzūmat al-Ādāb*; its most famous commentary is al-Saffārīnī's hefty

¹ Lead Researcher, Tabah Foundation (UAE); Associate, Straightway Ethical Advisory (www.straightwayethical.com); graduate of Dār al-Iftāʾ al-Miṣriyya with expertise in science as well as Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī *fiqh*. Published works include al-Nawawī's *al-Tibyan fi Ādāb Ḥamalāt al-Qurʾān*, Ibn Ḥajar's *Nukhbat al-Fikar fi Muṣṭalah Ahl al-Athar*, its commentary *Nuzhat al-Nazar Sharḥ Nukhbat al-Fikar* and *Matn Abi Shujāʿ* in Shāfiʿī *fiqh*.

Ghidhā' al-Albāb. Many of the Ḥanbalī jurists responsible for gathering, recording, and organizing the school left writings within that genre including Abū Bakr al-Khallāl (the author of this work), al-Qāḍī Abū Ya' lā, Ibn 'Aqīl, Ibn al-Jawzī, and Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisī. Outside the works of Imam Aḥmad himself, one of the earliest examples of this genre is the present work: *The Exhortation to Trade, Industry and Work, the Rebuke of Those who Claim Trust in Allah by Abandoning Work, and the Proof that They are Wrong*. (May Allah grant them all His mercy.)

In translating this work Shaykh Gibril has relied upon manuscript sources as well as previous editions. Additionally, he has included much supplementary information to assist readers in understanding the text and introduce them to the Companions and Forebears who were cited in the text—may Allah be pleased with them and grant mercy to them all.

This translation is a significant contribution to the English corpus of Islamic literature. It is a welcome addition to the growing corpus of English-language Ḥanbalī texts, and its subject is one that has been of concern to almost every generation of the Muslim community. The translator's adherence to sound research methods, sourcing, and—more importantly—the values and etiquette of Islamic scholarship ensure that this translation is both authentic and accurate, and that the author and his subject matter are treated with utmost respect.

May Allah bless the translator, the author, and all who read this text.

Introduction

Glory, praise and gratitude are due to Allah Most High with abundant and fragrant blessings and salutations on His Beloved Prophet our liegelord Muḥammad and upon his family and all his Companions! This is an English translation and study of a brief handbook of 128 reports on the Sunniness of work, the work ethic, frugality, the maintenance of property, financial independence through *ḥalāl* income, and true reliance on Allah according to the Imam of jurisprudence Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (164-241/781-855) and his predecessors and contemporaries as reported from his direct students by the earliest chronicler of his school, Aḥmad al-Khallāl. Entitled *The exhortation to trade, industry and work, the rebuke of those who claim trust in Allah by abandoning work and the proof that they are wrong* and subtitled *From the questions put to Imam Aḥmad (min masā'il al-Imām Aḥmad)*, the book highlights the latter's emphasis on the Prophetic recommendation that one should strive to eat and economise from the fruit of one's labour, especially through trade, handiwork or agriculture, rather than resort to handouts as mistakenly practised by dervishes, and rather than sufficing oneself—and oneself alone—with the bare minimum required for living. The whole edifice of this endeavour is the pursuit of lawful sustenance (*rizq ḥalāl*) in the twin sense of food and income:

Do not scorn a penny (*fals*) you acquire by obeying Allah. You might buy with it beans that will hardly settle in your stomach before all your sins are forgiven. ... A man must scrutinise the provenance of his daily bread and the provenance of his dirham. Do the deeds of heroes!²

² *al-Ḥaṭhth* §§24, 36 (Shu'ayb b. Ḥarb, Muḥammad b. Muqātil, Sufyān).

Hence it comes as no surprise that one of the early masters cited here said: “I have been the jurisprudent (*faqīh*) of my food for 60 years;”³ and Imam Aḥmad considered such vetting of one’s morsel the precondition *sine qua non* even of the Remembrance of Allah:

I [‘Umar b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ṭarasūsī] went with Yaḥyā al-Jallā’ — he was said to be one of the *Abdāl*⁴ — to see Abū ‘Abd Allāh Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. I asked him with Fawzān, Zuhayr, and Hārūn al-Ḥammāl around him: “Allah have mercy on you, Abū ‘Abd Allāh! By what do hearts grow soft (*bi-mā talīn al-qulūb*)?” He looked at his companions and winked at them then he lowered his head for a while. Then he looked up and said: “My son, by eating lawful food (*ya bunayy bi-akl al-ḥalāl*).” I went to see Abū Naṣr Bishr b. al-Ḥārith⁵ on the spot and said to him: “Abū Naṣr, by what do hearts grow soft?” He replied: “*Behold! By the remembrance of Allah hearts become tranquil* (Sūrat al-Ra‘d 13:28).”⁶ I said:

- I have just come from Abū ‘Abd Allāh’s house.
- What did he reply to you?
- He said “by eating lawful food.”
- He has given the basis. He has given the basis.⁷

³ *al-Hathth* §34 (Abū Yūsuf al-Ghasūlī). I.e. I have scrutinised it both with regard to its lawful provenance and my absolute need of it.

⁴ Substitute-saints, thus named because whenever one of them dies Allah replaces him with a substitute (*badal*) so that their number always remains forty. Most of them are in Syro-Palestine (al-Shām). See on them Haddad, *Forty Hadīths*.

⁵ The famous Sufi master Bishr al-Ḥāfi. See biographical notices.

⁶ Cf. also *Allah has revealed a most excellent discourse, a uniform Book with paired admonitions, wherewith shiver the skins of those who fear their Lord. Then their skins and their hearts soften to the remembrance of Allah...* (Sūrat al-Zumar 39:23).

⁷ *Jā’a bil-aṣl*, i.e. the inalienable foundation. Abū Nu‘aym (9:182 Fawzān misspelled “Fawrān”) and Ibn al-Jawzī, *Manāqib* (p. 196 §31 “Bawrān”).

Work in the world with abstinence (*zuhd*) in the heart

Imam Aḥmad lived a life of staggering simplicity and in the words of the arch-Imam ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī (181-255/797-869) “he bore with poverty for seventy years.”⁸ More than that “he loved the poor and I never saw the poor that sat with him treated with greater honor and respect in any other gathering” (al-Marrūdhī).⁹ Even more, he embraced poverty and considered it a litmus test between the *fitna*-bound slaves of the material world and the people of the hereafter:

Whenever Abū ‘Abd Allāh thought of death tears would rob him of speech. He would say: “Fear prevents me from eating and drinking but when I remember death everything in this world becomes contemptible to me.”¹⁰ It is food without food, clothing without clothing. Truly this life is just a few days! *Nothing is as precious to me as poverty (mā a‘dilu bil-faqrī shay’an)*. Would that people abandoned us. The path (*al-tarīq*) is what Bishr b. al-Ḥārith followed ... Glory to Allah, patience in poverty! patience in poverty! (*subḥān Allāh al-ṣabr ‘alā al-faqr!*) Nothing is as precious to me than patience in poverty. Do you know how much difference there is between the one who is given from this world so that he is seduced, and the one from whom the world is kept at bay?¹¹

⁸ Abū Nu‘aym (9:176); Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh* (5:288); Ibn al-Jawzī, *Manāqib* (p. 244).

⁹ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Manāqib* (p. 272 §51).

¹⁰ Abū al-Dardā’ said to a group of bereaved mourners at a burial: “Pity them—tomorrow’s dead weeping over today’s dead” in Abū Ḥātim, *al-Zuhd* (ed. Mundhir Salīm Maḥmūd al-Dūmī, Riyadh: Dār Aṭlas, 1421/2000) p. 38-39 §9.

¹¹ al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (p. 215-216); Ibn al-Jawzī, *Manāqib* (p. 273 §52).

On the other hand Aḥmad greatly insisted on the virtues of work (*ʿamal*)—especially through trade (*tijāra*)—and wealth as financial independence (*ghinā, istighnāʾ*) for whoever asked him (*Ḥathth* §§1-10). As al-Khallāl reports from Yūsuf b. Asbāṭ, “to seek a lawful income is a categorical obligation” (§24 *ṭalab al-ḥalāl farīḍa*) and, Aḥmad stresses, perfectly non-negotiable when it comes to supporting one’s dependants (§80). He had nothing but the harshest words (“reprobate!” “liar!” “foul and depraved!” “imbecile!” “innovators!” “Wicked people who want the world’s paralysis and ruin!”) for those he viewed as taking refuge in quietism and idleness while calling it abstinence and reliance (§§94, 106, 109, 111, 112), or false religious scrupulosity in blighted disregard of the Prophetic warning “It is enough of a sin for someone to let his dependants perish” (§§79-85). He also noted the duplicity of those who scoff at the licitness of work then accept handouts produced by it (§108).

Imam Aḥmad and Sufism (*Taṣawwuf*)

The Ḥanbalī *madhhab* at its inception is perhaps the most Sufi-oriented of all the Sunni schools and its Imam’s open-door policy to Sufis is well-known.¹² At the same time, as the *Ḥathth* shows, Aḥmad was called upon to clarify the Sunni parameters of self-deprivation and God-reliance as opposed to what he or some of his contemporaries among scholars viewed as heterodox excesses. In the second part of his book al-Khallāl documents their disapproval of ascetics who eat so little that it impairs them to the point they no longer fulfill their categorical obligations (§88); “rely on

¹² See on this the section entitled “Imam Aḥmad’s *Taṣawwuf* and Fond Love of Sufis” in our *Four Imams and Their Schools* (London: Muslim Academic Trust, 2007) pp. 386-389.

other people's knapsacks" by undertaking pilgrimage and going into deserts alone, without mount or provision (§90-94); or end up "some as madmen, some as heretics" (§95). At the same time al-Khallāl stresses that Aḥmad did *conditionally* accept the validity of a seemingly extreme type of reliance on Allah, described as "reliance on a truthful basis" (*al-tawakkul 'alā al-ṣidq*) (§§89-91). Such, of course, typified the great early Sunni ascetics such as Shaybān al-Rā'ī, Dāwūd al-Ṭā'ī, Ma'rūf and later figures in Aḥmad's time, all of whom he profoundly admired even when he might have disagreed with them over some details—for example in his rejoinder to a very austere *du'ā'* related from Ṭāwūs (§8) or his paternal advice to two mendicants (§122).

A commonly misconstrued definition of *zuhd* or Islamic simple living limits its meaning to ascetic self-deprivation, which in reality is only one of its possible manifestations, and an outward one at that. In reality *zuhd* has many meanings that are all summed up in *qasr al-amal* or the certitude of the imminence of death, and *riḍā* or love of Divine Foreordainment, unimpeded and uncontradicted by worldly diligence and even worldly wealth.¹³ The Prophet himself—upon him blessings and peace—said: "Truly the purest and most delicious thing a man can eat is what he eats from his own earnings"¹⁴ and he castigated mendicacy as sinful. At the same time the Qur'ān and Sunna strongly warn against materialism, to which a true Sufi must remain impervious.¹⁵ "If his wealth gets depleted he does not

¹³ See on this Imam al-Bayhaqī's introduction to his *Kitāb al-Zuhd al-Kabīr*.

¹⁴ See below (§3).

¹⁵ See on these two aspects Imam al-Qurṭubī's *Qam' al-Ḥirṣ bil-Zuhd wal-Qanā'a wa-Radd Dhull al-Su'āl bil-Kulbi wal-Shafā'a* (The subduing of

worry and if it increases he does not rejoice, nor does he abhor parting with it through death” (§19, Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna). “For the people of hearts,” advised the Syrian *walī* Bahā’ al-Dīn al-Rawwās (1220-1287/1805-1870) in his canons of sufism, “it is one and the same who or what comes near and who or what stays far.”¹⁶ In this light Imam Aḥmad’s personal embrace of poverty together with his advice to work and own wealth are not mutually conflicting but are the Sunna at its core and a path of Sufi striving in its own right. Truthful reliance, moreover, precludes the *fiqh*-less brands of religious scruple (*wara*^c) advocated by certain Muslims. Imam al-Ghazālī calls the latter *wara*^c *al-muwaswasīn*, “the scrupulosity of the victims of Satanic whispering,”¹⁷ whereby, supposedly:

(i) “Using material means and relying on Allah are mutually exclusive”: on the contrary not only are they complementary¹⁸ but the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—made the former a necessary pre-condition of the latter in his famous hadith, “Tie your camel first then rely on Allah.”¹⁹ “Do not take risks” (§89) says the Imam to a man who asks about venturing into the desert alone and without provision. To another who asks him which is preferable for the traveller, “to carry provisions or rely on Allah?” he replies: “to carry provisions *and* rely on Allah” (§92a).

greed through abstinence and contentment and the repelling of the humiliation of beggary through handwritten requests and intercession), recently translated at Bristol’s Amal Press.

¹⁶ al-Rawwās, *Fadhlakat al-Ḥaqīqa* (§265, §268, §310).

¹⁷ al-Ghazālī, opening of the “Book of *Ḥalāl* and *Ḥarām*” in *Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn*. See excerpt quoted in the marginalia of the *Ḥathth* (Abū Ghudda ed. pp. 73-74).

¹⁸ Cf. §92a and §93.

¹⁹ al-Tirmidhī (*Ṣifat al-ḡiyāma wal-raqā’iq wal-wara’ ‘an Rasūl Allāh*).

(ii) “The whole economy being illicit makes the obtainment of licit income impossible”: on the contrary, whatever the economy, every individual transaction is judged on its own merit since illicitness in monies is transferable only when the beneficiary is positively aware of it.²⁰ The intermixing of *ḥarām* with *ḥalāl* in an economy never means that every single transaction in it becomes *ḥarām* as a result. To a critic of all economy as unlawful Aḥmad scoffs: “Look at this corrupter! he wants to nullify people’s livelihoods!” (§94). In the same strain he advises accepting government subsidies and praying for the ruler (§10).

As al-Khallāl shows, in Aḥmad’s eyes the determining criterion between religion and religiosity, or true and false reliance was common sense as well as truthfulness. How can one look down on material means as irreligious when Allah Most High built the order of the world on them, and the Prophets and righteous availed themselves of them and praised them (cf. §115)?

“Wealth is Part of Health”

Imam Aḥmad liked to cite the great *Tābi’ī* Abū Qilāba’s pithy summation, “Wealth is part of health” (*al-ghinā min al-‘āfiya*)²¹—not just one’s own physical upkeep and mental peace of mind, but that of one’s family and community as well, since it permits mutual aid in times of sickness and

²⁰ *al-ḥurmatu tata‘addā fil-amwāl ma‘a al-‘ilmi bihā*. Ibn Nujaym, *al-Ashbāh wal-Nazā’ir* (ed. Muḥammad Muṭī‘ al-Ḥāfiz, Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1403/1982) p. 344, beginning of *Kitāb al-ḥaḍr wal-ibāha*.

²¹ §8, §10. *Ghinā* has also been translated as “self-sufficiency,” “independence,” and “autonomy” as it can mean any or all four concepts; similarly *māl* has been variously translated as “wealth,” “possessions,” “money,” “holdings” and “capital.”

bereavement, which is the soul of joint responsibility (*takāful*). Acquiring and spending wealth licitly, moreover, shows obedience to Allah and His Prophet.

However, since most people tend to misuse wealth it is more a trial than a blessing, and although the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—sought refuge from both the evil of wealth and the evil of poverty (*Allāhumma innī a‘ūdhu bika min sharri fitnat al-ghinā wa-min sharri fitnat al-faqr*)²² and warned that poverty was tantamount to unbelief (*Allāhumma innī a‘ūdhu bika min al-kufri wal-faqrī, fa-qāla rajulun: wa-ya‘dilān? Qala na‘am*),²³ nevertheless much of the evidence from the Qur’ān and Sunna blames wealth and praises poverty.²⁴ In a sea of compilations on simple living and asceticism (*zuhd*),²⁵ reliance on Allah (*tawakkul*), scrupulosity (*wara‘*), contentment with little (*qanā‘a*, *‘iffa*), seclusion (*‘uzla*), and silence (*samt*), al-Khallāl’s work therefore provides a great service to the *Umma* by reminding

²² Narrated in the Six Books except Abū Dāwūd.

²³ al-Nasā’ī (*Isti‘ādha, al-isti‘ādhatu min sharr al-kufri*). See also the chapter on poverty in Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, *Iṣlāḥ al-Māl* (p. 121 §440 and §444).

²⁴ Over 130 pages on the blame of wealth and the wealthy and the praise of poverty and the poor in the 2008 edition of Ibn al-Qayyim’s reference-work on patience and gratitude entitled *‘Uddat al-Ṣābirin wa-Dhakhīrat al-Shākirin* (p. 350-481) as opposed to only 40 pages in praise of wealth and spending (p. 482-522).

²⁵ Such as the various *Kitāb al-Zuhd* authored by Wakī‘ b. al-Jarrāḥ (129-197/747-813), Asad b. Mūsā known as Asad al-Sunna (132-212/ca.750-827), Ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181/797), his student Hannād b. al-Sarī al-Kūfī (152-243/769-ca.857), his student Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, his student Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/ca.888), his student Ibn al-A‘rābī (d. 340/ca.951), Abū Ḥatīm al-Rāzī (195-277/811-890), Ibn Abī al-Dunyā (208-281/823-894), Ibn Abī ‘Āsim (206-287/ca.821-900), al-Bayhaqī (384-458/994-1066), Ibn Ḥazm (384-456/994-1063)—perhaps his last work, and al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdaḍī (392-463/1002-1071), all of which have been published.

people that **wealth that is acquired lawfully and put to good use is an avenue of blessings at all levels.** He was preceded and perhaps even bested in this endeavour by his senior of over 20 years, the Imam of the World in Hadith Ibn Abī al-Dunyā (208-281/823-894), with his sourcebook of over 500 texts on industry and wealth entitled *Iṣlāḥ al-Māl*. Both of them were preceded by the Arch-Imam of the World Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Bukhārī (194-256/810-870) with his numerous chapters on trading in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* and *Adab al-Mufrad* as well as Muslim and the *Sunan*.

Al-Khallāl also included many “Sufi” reports from some of the great luminaries of Islam renowned for their piety and asceticism as well as their superlative knowledge of the Divine Law (*Sharī‘a*) and its proofs beginning with the Rightly-Guided Caliphs and other senior Companions, Uways al-Qaranī, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, the two Sufyāns (al-Thawrī and Ibn ‘Uyayna), Ibrāhīm b. Ad’ham, Fuḍayl b. ‘Iyāḍ, Abū Yūsuf al-Ghasūlī, Abū Mu‘āwiya al-Aswad, Ḥudhayfa al-Mar‘ashī, Ibn Aslam, Sulaymān al-Khawwāṣ and Bishr al-Ḥāfi. To a certain extent their narrations make this volume a practicum of true servanthood and certainly reflect the importance and respect accorded by both the author and Imam Aḥmad himself to religious devotion and the spiritual quest. That respect took leave of Ibn al-Jawzī (510-597/1116-1201) in his anti-Sufi *Talbīs Iblīs* where he cites reports from the *Ḥathth* fairly often (§§1-4, 18-19, 88, 90, 92, 95, 103, 106, 108-109, 111-112, 122).

Abū Bakr al-Khallāl

Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn b. Yazīd al-Baghdādī al-Khallāl (“vinegar-maker”) (234-311/849-923) was a Ḥanbalī hadith master whose massive documentation of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal’s teachings made him the most im-

portant narrative link between the Imam and posterity. He was a direct student of the latter's principal students and colleagues such as Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī (d. 275/ 888), al-Athram (d. after 260/874), Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī (198-285/814-898), and the Imam's son 'Abd Allāh (d. 290/903). In addition to his *Jāmi' li-'Ulūm Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal* he also authored *al-'Ilm*, *al-'Ilal*, *al-Sunna*, and *Akhlāq Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*.

Upon hearing that one of his students, Ishāq b. Maṣṣūr al-Kawsaj, had published a compilation of Aḥmad's juridical views, the latter gathered his companions and declared that he had now disclaimed all of them. It is partly because of this scrupulous fear (*wara'*) of seeing his *fiqh* etched in stone that on so many specific issues two, three, or up to ten different positions are related from Imam Aḥmad. Al-Khallāl gathered all these views into his 40-volume *Jāmi'* after Aḥmad's death, the first full compilation of the latter's teachings in *fiqh*. Majd al-Dīn b. Taymiyya ('Abd al-Salām b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Khaḍir al-Ḥarrānī, d. 652/1254) then reduced this unwieldy compilation into a single volume entitled *al-Muḥarrar min al-Fiqh 'alā Madhhab al-Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*. Al-Kawtharī pointed out that despite Aḥmad's disclaimer, Imam al-Tirmidhī in his *Sunan* still relied on al-Kawsaj's compilation whenever citing Aḥmad's legal positions.

al-Dhahabī (673-748/1275-1347) wrote in the chapter on al-Khallāl in his magisterial biographical encyclopedia, *Siyar A'elām al-Nubalā'*:

AL-KHALLĀL: THE IMAM, SAVANT, HADITH MASTER AND JURIST, THE SHAYKH OF THE HANBALIS AND THEIR SCHOLAR, ABŪ BAKR AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. HĀRŪN B. YAZĪD AL-BAGHDĀDĪ AL-KHALLĀL.

He was born in 234 or 235, so it is possible he saw Imam Aḥmad; but he took jurisprudence from a large number of his disciples and was Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī's main student. He heard [hadith] from al-Ḥasan b. 'Arafa, Sa'dān b. Naṣr, Yaḥyā b. Abī Ṭālib, Ḥarb b. Ismā'il al-Kirmānī, Ya'qūb b. Sufyān al-Fasawī whom he met in Persia, Aḥmad b. Mulā'ib, al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad al-Dūrī, Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, 'Alī b. Sahl b. al-Mughīra al-Bazzāz, Aḥmad b. Manṣūr al-Ramādī, Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā b. Yaḥyā al-Nāqid, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Munādī, 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, al-Ḥasan b. Thawāb al-Makhrāmī, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Maymūnī, Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq al-Ḥarbī, Muḥammad b. 'Awf al-Ṭā'i, Ishāq b. Sayyār al-Naṣībī, Abū Bakr al-Ṣāghānī and many others.

He travelled to Persia, Syro-Palestine, Upper Mesopotamia, collecting the *fiqh* of Imam Aḥmad, his *fatwas* and responses. He wrote from his seniors and juniors, and even from his own students to the point he gathered up much knowledge. He then compiled his book *al-Jāmi' fīl-Fiqh* from the discourse of the Imam, using the terms *akhbaranā* and *ḥaddathanā*, in twenty volumes. He also authored *al-'Ilal 'an Aḥmad* in three volumes, which reveals his scholarly mastership and vast expertise.

Before al-Khallāl's time Imam Aḥmad did not have an independent juridical school. Then al-Khallāl came, painstakingly collected all the texts from Imam Aḥmad, compiled them into volumes and brought them out after the year 300—Allah have mercy on him. Abū Bakr b. Shahrīyār said: "We are all indebted to Abū Bakr al-Khallāl: none preceded him in gathering up the knowledge of Imam Aḥmad."

Few narrate from him. Among them: Imam Abū Bakr 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ja'far (Ghulām al-Khallāl), Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. al-Muẓaffar, and others.

al-Khaṭīb said in his *Tārīkh*: "al-Khallāl gathered up Aḥmad's sciences and researched them, travelling for that purpose, writing them down, compiling them into books. There was no one more encyclopedic than him among

those who affiliated themselves to Aḥmad's *madhhab*. Abū Ya'la b. al-Farrā' told me: 'Abū Bakr al-Khallāl was buried next to Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī.'"²⁶

He died in the month of Rabī' al-Awwal 311 (June-July 923), aged 77 years. It is also said he was almost 80.

al-Ḥasan b. Yūnus [al-Qalānisī] and 'Īsā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān [al-Ṣāliḥī al-Simsār] both reported to us: Ja'far b. 'Alī reported to us: the hadith master Aḥmad b. Muḥammad [Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī] reported to us: al-Mubārak b. 'Abd al-Jabbār [al-Ṣayrafī] reported to us: 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Alī reported to us: 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ja'far informed us: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn [al-Khallāl] reported to us: al-Marrūdhī narrated to us: Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal narrated to us: I heard Sufyān b. 'Uyayna say: "Your thought about tomorrow's sustenance is recorded against you as a sin."²⁷

A frank anthropomorphist, in his *Kitāb al-Sunna* al-Khallāl promoted his teachers' view that whoever denies that Allah "makes the Prophet *sit with Him* on the Throne" and that "there remains only four spans vacant for the Prophet to *sit next to Him*" (as narrated from Mujāhid) is an unbeliever.²⁸

Al-Khallāl's terminology of hadith transmission

In keeping with the tradition of early *Ahl al-Sunna* scholars, al-Khallāl's scholarly discourse is invariably in the format of hadith transmission and he uses their conventional nomenclature as referred to by al-Dhahabī in his above-cited remark, "using the terms *akhbaranā* and *ḥaddathanā*."

²⁶ al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* (5:112-113).

²⁷ al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (14:297-298 §193).

²⁸ al-Khallāl, *al-Sunna* (1:209-268 *dhikr al-maqām al-maḥmūd*, esp. 1:215 §246-247, 1:236-237 §272, and 1:239 §275).

Akhbara, anba'a. For the majority of the reports he narrates in his books including *al-Hathth*, al-Khallāl uses the term *akhbaranā*, translated as “X reported to us” wherein *khavar* is “report.” In early usage the term is synonymous with *ḥaddathanā*²⁹ but later usage restricts it to “presentation” (*arḍ*) and “reading back” (*qirā'a*), to signify that the student was part of a group before whom the report was presented/read to the teacher, either by the student himself or by someone else in the teacher's (and that student's) presence, rather than by the teacher himself. If used with a singular direct object—*akhbaranī*—the term denotes a one-on-one reading by al-Khallāl to his source. He also uses the two pairs *qara'nā/qara'tu 'alā fulānan*, “We/I read before X” and *anba'anā/ī*, “X informed us/me,” all of it synonymous here with *akhbaranā/ī*.

Ḥaddatha. The terms *ḥaddathanā/ī*, translated as “X narrated to us/me,” which al-Khallāl uses only a handful of times (§§1, 23, 66, 99, 101, 107, 116 and 121)—around 6% of the total number of reports (125)—denote direct verbatim aural delivery³⁰ by the teacher himself and no other,

²⁹ As demonstrated by al-Ṭahāwī in his treatise *al-Taswīya bayna Ḥaddathanā wa-Akhbaranā* in *Khams Rasā'il fī 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth* (ed. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda, Beirut: Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyya, 1423/2002) pp. 301-314. It is known that Mālik's way in the transmission of hadīth, like Ibn al-Musayyab, 'Urwa, al-Qāsim, Sālim, Nāfi', al-Zuhri and others, was *arḍ* and *qirā'atan* rather than *samā'* (“audition of the shaykh's own reading”). In both cases the student stated, by convention, “So-and-so narrated to us” (*ḥaddathanā fulān*); then the latter term became reserved for *samā'*. See biographical entry on 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

³⁰ All such readings are understood to have taken place on the basis of written records transmitted through audible delivery and usually involving dictation, copying and/or handing over of notebooks. On this important aspect of early hadīth culture see Gregor Schoeler, *The Oral*

before a group or a single student. In its strict meaning that is what the term “hadith” implies, and it is synonymous with *qāla lanā/li*, “X said to us/me” and *sami‘nā/ sami‘tu fulānan yaqūl/yadhkur*, “We/I heard X say/mention.”

Kataba. In the rarer cases al-Khallāl obtained the report by corresponding with his source rather than through a live meeting he indicated it by saying *kataba ilayya*, “X wrote to me” (e.g. §47).

Ijāzatan. Finally, the weakest of all these modes of transmission is by *ijāza* or “license/permission of transmission,” usually in written form but often only oral, whereby the teacher gives permission to the student to relate from him either one or more specific reports or works the teacher is known to have related from his own teachers, or all (*ijāza ‘amma*) that he is known to have related without restriction, without making the validity of that mode of transmission contingent on audition—although not excluding it. ‘*An* or “from” is indecisive-transmission terminology used by latter-day scholars in the sense of *ijāza*, although early scholars considered it tantamount to direct audition if used between two contemporary links and subject to further conditions outlined by the experts. Al-Khallāl regularly quotes it for Prophetic hadiths in keeping with the practice of the Nine Books and other compilations.³¹

and the Written in Early Islam (transl. Uwe Vegelpohl, ed. James Montgomery, London and New York: Routledge, 2006) and our review in *The Muslim World Book Review* 27 no. 4 (Summer 2007) 24-29 or at http://mac.abc.se/~onesr/d/myor_e.pdf.

³¹ See Abbreviations. For more on this topic see our hadith transmission teacher Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ya‘qūbī’s seminal introduction to Muḥammad al-Rābi‘ al-Ḥasanī al-Nadwī’s *thabat* entitled *Bughyat al-*

“Muḥammad reported...” “Muḥammad b. Ismā‘il reported...” Whenever al-Khallāl uses any of these terms he means one of his principal direct sources in this book, his teacher Muḥammad b. Ismā‘il b. Samura al-Aḥmasī al-Kūfī al-Sarrāj (d. 260?/874), who represents his highest (=shortest) chain of transmission since he narrated from Wakī‘ b. al-Jarrāḥ (see his biographical entry).

Other prestigious high chains for al-Khallāl include his narration from the supercentenarian Muḥammad b. Mu‘ādh Darrān al-Ḥalabī (184-294/800-907), from Mālik’s student the arch-master al-Qa‘nabī (born after 130-221/748-836), from ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Mājishūn (d. 164/781) with the latter’s three-men chain to the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace (§86). al-Khallāl also narrates the same hadith from the hadith master Abū Umayya Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muslim al-Khuzā‘ī al-Ṭarasūsī (d. 273/886), from Manṣūr b. Salama al-Khuzā‘ī al-Baghdādī (d. ca. 208/823) and Abū al-Jamāhir Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān al-Tanūkhī al-Kafarsūsī (140-224/757-839), both of them from al-Mājishūn (§87).

Ibn Ḥajar’s “Forms of conveyance” from *Nukhbat al-Fikar*

The *Ḥāfiẓ* Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (773-852/1372-1448) defined as follows the forms of conveyance of hadith reports in his primer on hadith nomenclature, *Nukhbat al-Fikar*:

The forms of conveyance are:

- (1) “*sami‘tu*” (I heard)
- (2) and “*ḥaddathanī*” (he narrated to me)
- (3) then “*akhbaranī*” (he reported to me)

Mutābi‘ li-Asānīd Muḥammad al-Rābi‘ (ed. Muḥammad Akram al-Nadwī, Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 1422/2001) 5-30.

- (4) and “*qara’tu ‘alayhi* ” (I read to him)
 (5) then “*qurī’a ‘alayhi wa-ana asma’u*” (it was read to him while I heard)
 (6) then “*anba’anī* ” (he informed me)
 (7) then “*nāwalanī* ” (he put into my hands)
 (8) then “*shāfahanī* ” (he told me verbally)
 (9) then “*kataba ilayya*” (he wrote to me)
 (10) then “*‘an*” (from) and the like.
- The first two are for someone who heard the shaykh verbatim one-on-one. If pluralised then [he heard] with someone else.
 - The first is the most explicit and is the highest-ranked in hadith dictation.
 - The third and fourth are for someone who read [to the shaykh] while alone. If the plural is used it is like the fifth.
 - “Informing” [the sixth] is synonymous with “reporting” [the third]. However, in the custom of the later generations “informing” is for authorisation (*ijāza*), like *‘an* [“from”].
 - The indecisive-transmission terminology [*‘an’ana*, i.e. “from so-and-so”] of contemporaries is tantamount/understood to be direct audition unless used by a camouflaging reporter (*mudallis*). It is said that a condition is that the meeting of the said contemporaries be positively proven, even if only once; it is the preferred opinion (*mukhtār*).
 - They used *mushāfaha* for an oral authorisation and *mukātaba* for a written authorisation [with the late scholars].
 - For *munāwala* to be authentic they stipulated that it be accompanied by permission to relate; it is the highest type of authorisation (*ijāza*).
 - They also stipulated permission for a report found (*wijāda i.e.* “something found in a book”), likewise a book bequeathed (*waṣiyya bil-kitāb*), and in a shaykh’s public announcement that he narrates something (*i’lām*), otherwise it is of no consequence; as is an authorisation that is universal or to someone unknown [to us], or to someone nonexistent—according to the soundest opinion on all of the above.³²

³² Ibn Ḥajar, *Nukhbat al-Fikar*, transl. Musa Furber in Haddad, *Sunna*

Editions and manuscripts of the *Ḥathth* used in this book

The present translation of the *Ḥathth* is based on the following two editions and three manuscripts, the latter of which helped clear inaccuracies that crept into one or both published editions:

I. The 239-page edition by Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ḥaddād published at Riyadh's Dār al-ʿĀṣima in 1407/1987.³³ This edition is overall the more reliable one with regard to textual integrity. It also provides useful documentation of the textual contents of the book³⁴ as well as the narrators Khallāl adduces in his transmission chains even if at times interminably prolix (e.g. 13-page documentation for §119 pp. 163-176). It is based on the following sources:

(i) Ms. Damascus Zāhiriyya 118/6, folios 25a-40b, on which the erudite Sufi Ḥanbali hadith master, jurist, and linguist of Qāsyūn in the Ṣālihiyya district of Damascus, Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Hādī known as Ibn al-Mabrad (841-909/1437-1503) recorded by hand his 897/1492 audition (*samāʿ*) of this book.

(ii) Ms. Zāhiriyya [present-day Maktabat al-Asad] Majmūʿ 116, folios 99b-114a which is defective and missing its last page or couple of pages right after §122. It is inscribed with a *samāʿ* dated Shawwāl 704/May 1305 and a later

Notes I (p. 186-187).

³³ Accessible online at <http://www.waqfeya.com/book.php?bid=6412> or at <http://www.archive.org/download/waq3412/3412.pdf>

³⁴ Excluding of course the inept anti-Sufi comments that mar all Maḥmūd al-Ḥaddād's publications.

samāʿ autographed by Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Hādī. Complete, readable with difficulty. Accessible online in scanned format of 15 black-and-white *.tif files.³⁵

(iii) Ms. Berlin or.oct.1807 in 18 folios dated Jumūʿa 22 Šafar 1335/15 December 1916, neatly copied in black ink from an original predating a *samāʿ* on 6 Rabīʿ 655/31 March 1257, from the library of the German Orientalist Hellmut Ritter (1892-1971) and stamped with his Arabic name-seal.³⁶ The copyist made countless mistakes which a reader corrected both inside the text and in the margins. The copyist penned at the end of the text on folio 18a: “Its verification and correct vowelisation were finalised” (*balagha muqabalatahu wa-taṣḥīḥan bil-ḍabt*) but the reader put this remark next to it: “Glory to You, this is a gross calumny! Such a claim is belied by the senses! Because I only corrected it that way after a huge effort on my part.” A good scan of this very readable copy is accessible online and bears some marginal annotations in what looks like a Georgian script, perhaps by Ritter’s own hand.³⁷

(iv) The 1348/1929-1930 Damascus: Maktabat al-Qudṣī edition of the erudite Ottoman Shaykh Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī, which I have not seen, based on a manuscript from his private collection.

³⁵ <http://archive.org/details/alhathalajejara>

³⁶ Ritter’s doctoral thesis under Carl Heinrich Becker at the University of Bonn in 1914 was an edition, German translation and study of Jaʿfar b. ʿAlī al-Dimashqī’s *al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsīn al-Tijāra*, published as *Ein arabisches Handbuch der Handelswissenschaft in Der Islam* vol. 7 (1917) 1-97 and recently translated and published in English by Dr. Adi Setia as *The Indicator to the Virtues of Commerce* (Kuala Lumpur: IBFIM, 2011).

³⁷ <http://wadod.org/vb/showthread.php?t=4813> as of June 12, 2012. See below, Figs. 3-4.

II. The 119-page edition of al-Kawtharī's student 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda (d. 1417/1997) published at Beirut's Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyya in 1995.³⁸ This edition also provides useful documentation and is more practical than its predecessors for vowelisation. Abū Ghudda described it as based exclusively on his teacher's 1348/1929-1930 Damascus edition already mentioned. He said he finished working on it in Jumādā I 1405/January 1985 and does not acknowledge the existence of al-Ḥaddād's 1987 edition. Yet his edition has the same (and at times illogical) numbering—which we remedied with sub-entries and duplicate numbering (§§23a, 32a, 42a, 71a, 90a, 92a, 99a, 122a, 122b)—and some very similar notes. His edition also has many errors and gaps for such a small volume:

- wrong vowelisations (§10 *wal-ṣalawāti* should be *wal-ṣalawātu*; §14 *kharāq* → *khurq*; §38 *ḥaml* → *ḥiml*; §44 *al-Warakānī* → *al-Warkānī*; §93 *Mashshīsh* → *Mushaysh*; §108 *umira* → *amara*; §110 *ḥulm* → *ḥulum*; §122 par. 2 *wadī'a* → *wuḍī'a*; §127 *al-Dawrī* → *al-Dūrī*; §128 *li-hādhihi al-qulūbi* → *la-hādhihi al-qulūba*);

- incorrect morphology (§88 *al-Ḥanbalī* should be *al-Ḥubulī*; §90 *wa-lā tastashrifu naḥsuh* → *wa-lā yastashrifu naḥsah*; §99 *qāl* → *qālā*; §115 *idhan min al-shirā'* → *idhmun fīl-shirā'*);

- incorrect syntax (§10 par. 8 the clause *yumkinunī al-dukhūl* ends with the word *al-jumu'a*, not *wal-ṣalawāt*; §91 the initial clause *wa-ʿalā... ayḍan* belongs with the last clause of §90; §122);

- incomplete Qur'ānic documentation (§42 n.2) and failure to include hadith documentations (§§8, 58-59, 106, 109);

³⁸ Also available online at <http://www.waqfeya.com/book.php?bid=6411> or <http://www.archive.org/download/waq25179/25179.pdf>

- failure to provide basic glosses (§§48-49; §113; §119 *li-dhī damin mūji*^c is left unexplained despite an incongruous 3-page gloss) and biographical identifications (§2 and §92: Ibn Aslam; §46: Ibn Nūḥ; §60: “Abū Yaḥyā”; the speaker in §116; §122: Abū Mu‘āwiya al-Aswad; §124: Abū Sufyān).
- typographical errors (§8 n.1 *al-Muwaddiḥ* 1:14 not 1:41, *al-Ḥilya* 4:9 not 3:9; §47 second *ya*^c*nī* should be removed);
- Some marginal comments are unnecessarily didactic (in §§59, 106, 115)—the text speaks for itself—or show that the text was misunderstood (§7 n.2, §8 n.1, §108 n.2), or the author’s intent (§126 n.1, §127 n.1), or both (§122).
- The hadith grading and/or narrator commendation or discreditation is at times either misleading or off the mark (§§59, 105, 122).

III. Ms. Damascus Zāhiriyya Majmū‘ 116 already described.

IV. The Berlin ms. already described.

V. Ms. Riyadh King Sa‘ūd University Majmū‘ 1928 of 14 folios. Dated 1339/1920 or 1921. Accurate, complete and very readable copy except for faded ink in many places. Accessible online in scanned format of 16 color .jpg files.³⁹

Grading of reports

With regard to verdicts of authenticity or inauthenticity and the general grading of the reports neither one of the two annotated editions stands out as definitive. We have there-

³⁹ <http://www.mediafire.com/?32z2dm0nw4j>

fore provided our own comments wherever pertinent. The authoritative hadithic format of al-Khallāl's book in and of itself forms one large endorsement of authenticity on his part, and his inclusion of a few patently weaker reports, Prophetic (e.g. §105) or otherwise (e.g. §127), must be understood in the context of the scholarly consensus that weak reports in support of good deeds (*faḍā'il al-a'māl*) are accepted.⁴⁰

Translator's narrative chain (*sanad al-riwāya*) **for this book**

The pauper in need of His Lord's Mercy, Abū Ḥammād Gibril ibn Fouad Haddad al-Dimashqī al-Ṣāliḥī *thumma* al-Brunāwī narrates this book through an all-Damascene, mostly Ṣāliḥī chain:

- from my teacher the *Musnid* Dr. Muḥammad Mu'tazz al-Subaynī al-Ṣāliḥī the imām of the Muẓaffarī Mosque (Jāmi' al-Ḥanābila, built 599/1202) on Mount Qasyūn, Ṣāliḥiyya district, Damascus:
- from his teacher Shaykh Muḥammad Fahmī b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Nā'imī al-Ṣāliḥī (d. 1419/1998):
- from his teacher Shaykh 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Fāris b. Aḥmad al-Tikrītī al-Ṣāliḥī (1300-1361/1883-1942):
- My father (d. 1313/1895) informed us (through *ijāza*):
- Shaykh 'Alī b. Ḥusayn al-Saqatī al-Ṣāliḥī (d. 1288/1871) informed us:
- 'Abd al-Ghanī b. 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Saqatī al-Ṣāliḥī (1165-1246/1752-1831) informed us:
- from the *Musnid* 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Salīmī al-Ṣāliḥī (1113-1200/1701-1786)—all the above-named eight are Shāfi'is:

⁴⁰ See on this our *Sunna Notes I* (p. 100-104).

- from the Mufti of the Ḥanafīs in his time ‘Abd al-Ghanī b. Ismā‘īl al-Nābulusī al-Ṣāliḥī (1050-1143/1640-1731):⁴¹
- from Shaykh al-Qurrā’ and the Mufti and jurist of Ḥanbalīs in his time Taqī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Bāqī b. ‘Abd al-Bāqī b. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ba‘lī al-Azharī al-Dimashqī al-Ṣūfī (1005-1072/1596-1662):
- from the Mufti of Ḥanbalīs, Qadi and *Muḥaddith*, Shaykh al-Islām al-Shihāb Aḥmad b. Abī al-Wafā b. Mufliḥ (936-1035/ 1530-1626):
- from the Seal of Hadith Masters and Polymath Scholars the historian of Syro-Palestine Abū al-Faḍl Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn al-Dimashqī al-Ṣāliḥī (880-953/1475-1546):
- from the Ḥanbalī hadith master and jurist, author of 400 collections of 40 hadiths, Abū al-Maḥāsīn/Abū ‘Umar Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Hādī al-‘Umarī al-Ṣāliḥī (841-909/ 1437-1503), famed as Ibn al-Mabrad (per Ibn Ṭūlūn) or Ibn al-Mibrad (per others):
- from the Ḥanbalī Musnid and Qadi Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī ‘Umar al-Maqdisī al-Ṣāliḥī, known as Ibn Zurayq (812-900/1409-1495), a scion of Ibn Qudāma:
- from the Seal of Damascene hadith masters Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Qaysī al-Dimasqhī, known as Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn (777-842/1375-1438):
- from Sāra bint Shaykh al-Islām Taqī al-Dīn ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Kāfi al-Subkiyya al-Anṣāriyya (734-805/1333-1403): (through her *ijāza*)
- from the computer of hadith masters Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf b. al-Zakī al-Mizzī (654-742/1256-1341):

⁴¹ “The greatest of those I have chronicled in knowledge, sainthood (*wilāya*), abstinence (*zuhd*), fame, and expertise (*dirāya*)” (al-Murādi in *Silk al-Durar*).

- from the *Ḥāfiẓ*, *Shaykh al-Ḥadīth fīl-Ḍiyā'iyya*, Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī al-Ṣāliḥī, known as Ibn al-Kamāl (607-688/1211-1289):
- from the arch-master and Mufti of the Ḥanbalīs Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Qudāma al-Ṣāliḥī (541-620/1147-1223) with his chain cited below, namely:
- I read before 'Abd Allāh b. Manṣūr al-Mawṣilī (d. 567/1172):
- al-Mubārak b. 'Abd al-Jabbār (d. 500/1107) reported to you:
- 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Azjī (356-444/967-1052) informed us:
- 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ja'far b. Aḥmad—known as Ghulām al-Khallāl (285-363/898-973)—reported to us by permission (*ijāzatan*):
- **Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Khallāl narrated to us...**

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 وَأَنَّ عَلَى الشَّيْءِ أَيْ مُحَمَّدٍ عَبْدَ اللَّهِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ وَهُوَ اللَّهُ الْوَاحِدُ فِي يَوْمِ الْفَتْحِ حَادِي عَشَرَ
 الْحَيِّ قَسَمًا أَرْبَعٌ وَسِتُّونَ وَمِائَتَانِ مَلَأَ الْخَيْطُ السَّمْعَ الصَّلَاحُ الْوَلَعُ الْمُبَارَكُ
 عَبْدُ الْحَارِثِ بْنُ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ مَرْثَدَةَ عَلَيْهِ رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ أَسْأَلُ اللَّهَ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ
 بِعَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ الْقَضَا الْأَرْبَعِيَّةَ عَلَيْهِ فِي حَمْدِي الْحَيِّ قَسَمًا أَرْبَعٌ وَسِتُّونَ وَمِائَتَانِ
 وَأَرْبَعِينَ مَلَأَ الْخَيْطُ الْوَلَعُ عَبْدُ الْعَزِيزِ بْنُ جَعْفَرٍ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ مَرْثَدَةَ عَلَيْهِ رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ
 الْمَعْرُوفُ بِعَلَامَةِ الْخَالِ الْجَارِ قَالَ الْأَرْبَعِيَّةَ وَفَرَى عَلَى اللَّهِ الْعَهْدُ أَبُو هُرَيْرَةَ
 الْأَسْجَدِيُّ وَالْمَوْحُ قَالَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ عَبْدُ الْعَزِيزِ قَالَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ أَحْمَدُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ
 الْحَلَالُ مَارِئَانُ بْنُ بَكْرٍ الرَّوْحِيُّ قَالَ سَمِعْتُ جَلَسَ لِي عَبْدُ اللَّهِ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ
 فِي كَقَابِهِ مَالِ الزَّمَنِ السُّوقِ فَضَلَّ بِاللَّحْمِ وَتَعَوَّذَ
 وَلَحْنُ الرَّابِعِ وَمَالَ قَالَ رَحِلَ لِي عَبْدُ اللَّهِ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ مِنْ الْحَمْدِ
 تَرَى نَازِعًا بِاللَّحْمِ وَصَدَّقَ الْفَضْلُ عَلَيَّ أَيْتَكَ وَلَحْنُ الرَّابِعِ
 الرَّوْحِيُّ قَالَ سَمِعْتُ مَاعِدُ اللَّهِ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ فَذَكَرْتُ لِي لَوْلَا أَنْ لَحْنُ
 إِلَى السُّوقِ وَأَنْ عَرَضُوا لِلتَّجَارَةِ وَقَالَ مَكْرُوبِي عَنْ عَمَلِ اللَّهِ عَنْ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ
 عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ إِنْ أَطِيبَ مَا أَكَلَ الْجَوَارِ مِنْ شَيْءٍ لِحْنُ الرَّابِعِ
 الْحُسَيْنُ بْنُ الْفَضْلِ بْنِ أَبِي حُدَّادٍ قَالَ سَمِعْتُ أَبَا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ يَقُولُ
 يَقُولُ مَا لِحْنُ الرَّابِعِ عَنْ النَّاسِ لِحْنُ الرَّابِعِ عَنْ النَّاسِ
 عَنْ عَلِيِّ بْنِ جَعْفَرٍ قَالَ مَضَى إِلَيَّ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ وَصَحَّ

Fig.2: Damascus Ms. 116 f°101b (beginning of the book).

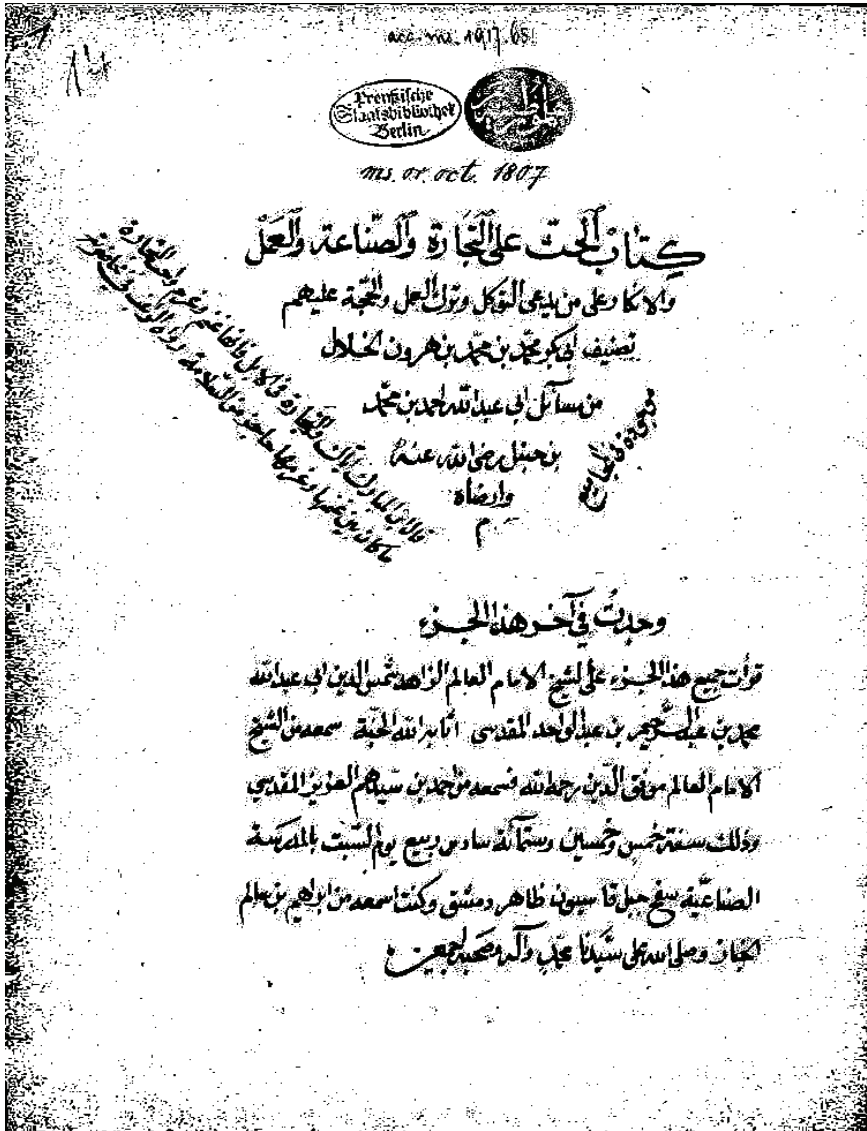


Fig.3: Berlin Ms. frontispiece with “Halmūt Ritter”
(Hellmut Ritter) name-seal.

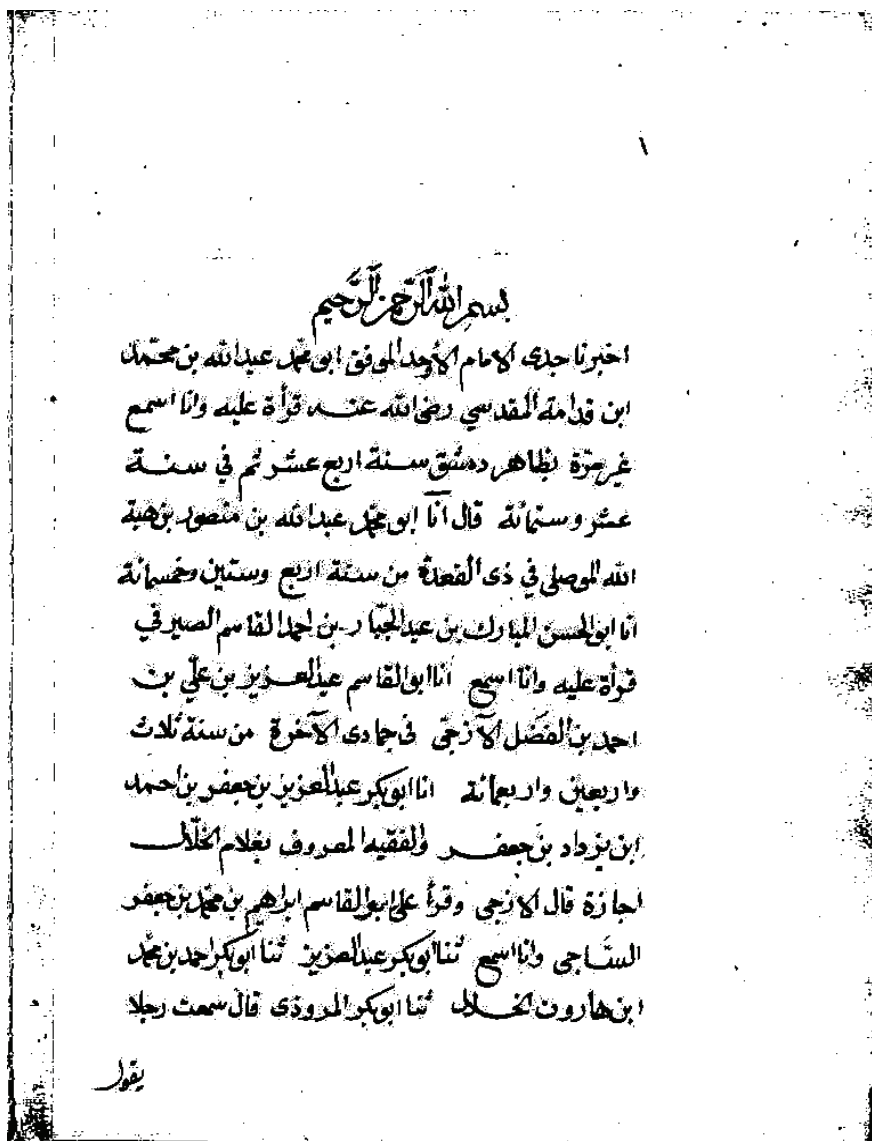


Fig. 4: Berlin Ms. f°1b with al-Khallāl's name, bottom line.

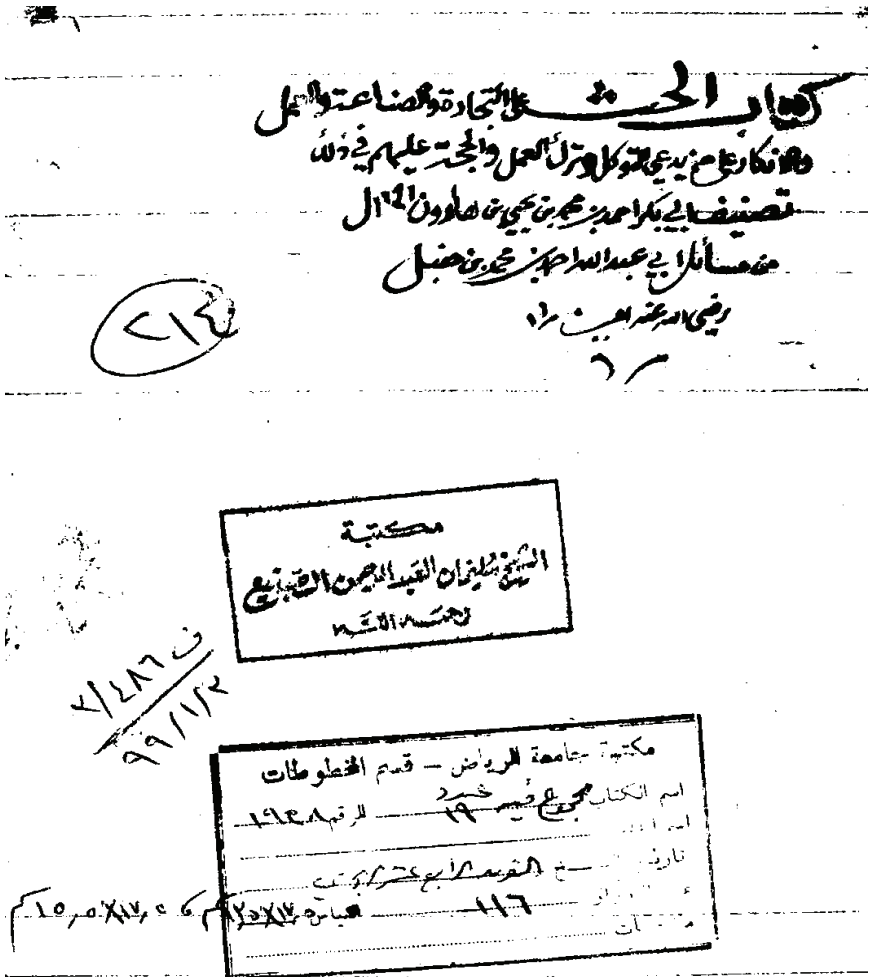


Fig.6: Riyadh Ms. f°1a subtitled *min masā'il Abī 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal, raḍiya Allāhu 'anh, āmin!*

المتوكل محل بقلبه الكفاية لله عز وجل فيضه في الله عز وجل فيما ينبغي
 اخبرني الحسن بن محمد الرضا عن ابي عبد الله عليه السلام عن ابي بصير
 عن سيفان عن ابي سنان عن سيف بن عيسى عن ابي بصير عن ابي بصير
 اخبرني الحسن بن محمد الرضا عن ابي عبد الله عليه السلام عن ابي بصير
 سمعت ابي بصير عن ابي بصير عن ابي بصير عن ابي بصير
 ان يعلم الله هو ثقة اخبرني حرب بن ابي سعيد الكرماني
 قال حدثني عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن مسلم ثنا حسين بن زياد المروزي قال
 سمعت سيفان بن عيسى يقول جماع الايمان التوكل على الله وتفسير
 التوكل ان يدعى بما فعل به اخبرني المروزي ثنا يحيى بن عيسى بن ثابت
 ثنا القاسم بن سليمان قال سمعت الشعبي يقول ان الله تعالى عبادا
 وراء الاندلس كايمننا وبين الاندلس ما يرون ان الله عصاة مختلف
 رضاءهم الدر واليا قوت وجبا لهم الذهب والفضة لا يجرئون ولا
 يزعمون ولا يعملون عملا لهم شجر على اوبابهم لها ثمر هي طعامهم وشجر
 لها اوراق عريض لياسهم اخبرني ابو بكر بن صدقة ثنا علي بن
 العباس الاطروش حدثني ابو بكر الرضا ثنا شعيب بن حرب يقول قال
 رجل لا ويس القرني من ابن المعاش قال يقول له ويس ان التران لهذه
 القلوب شكت فلا تنفع منها عوطة ثم الكتاب والامر بعد
 وعلمه ولم على سيدنا محمد وال وصحبه

لعله
 سمعت

Fig.8: Riyadh Ms. f°13b (end) with copyist's dating: 1339H.

THE *EXHORTATION*

TO TRADE, INDUSTRY AND WORK,
THE REBUKE OF THOSE WHO
CLAIM TRUST IN ALLAH BY
ABANDONING WORK, AND THE
PROOF THAT THEY ARE WRONG

*al-Ḥathth ʿalā al-Tijāra wal-Ṣināʿa wal-ʿAmal
wal-Inkār ʿalā man Yaddaʿī al-Tawakkul
fī Tark al-ʿAmal wal-Ḥujjatu
ʿalayhim fī Dhālik*

By

ABŪ BAKR AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. HĀRŪN

AL-KHALLĀL

(234-311/849-923)

In the Name of Allah All-Beneficent Most Merciful

My grandfather,⁴² the incomparable Imam Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Qudāma al-Maqdisī⁴³ (541-620/1147-1223), Allah be well-pleased with him, reported to us (*akhbaranā*) outside Damascus on more than one occasion as I sat listening, in 614/1217 then again in 626/1229:

I read before Shaykh Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Maṣṣūr b. Hibat Allāh al-Mawṣilī (d. 567/1172) on the day of Jumū‘a 11 Dhūl-Ḥijja 564 (12 September 1169):

the righteous Shaykh Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Mubārak b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim al-Ṣayrafī⁴⁴ (d. 500/1107) reported to you as someone read before him while you sat listening, and he said:

⁴² The speaker is the hadith master Sayf al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Qudāma al-Maqdisī (605-643/1209-1245) per ms. *Zāhiriyya* 118/6 (25a-40b) and the Damascus edition of *al-Ḥathth* at Maktabat al-Qudsī, 1348/1929-1930. Other narrators of this work through direct audition from Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāma include the hadith master Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī al-Ṣāliḥī, known as Ibn al-Kamāl (607-688/ 1211-1289) per ms. Berlin 1807 and “Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Zāhid al-Maqdisī” (?-?) per Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Rawḍānī’s (d. 1094/1683) *Ṣilat al-Salaf bi-Mawṣūl al-Khalaf* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1408/1988) p. 217. The major Damascene hadith master Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Mizzī (654-742/1256-1341) narrated it from the latter through direct audition (Rawḍānī, p. 217) but this unknown al-Zāhid is most likely Ibn al-Kamāl.

⁴³ One of the principal jurists of the later Ḥanbalī School, author of *al-Mughnī*, a reference-book of comparative law, among other major works.

⁴⁴ A major pious hadith scholar from Karkh (Iraq) known as Ibn al-Ṭuyūrī, student of Ibn Shādhān and teacher to Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī. It is said he possessed 1,000 fascicles written by al-Dāraqutnī’s own hand.

Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. al-Faḍl al-Azjī (356-444/967-1052) informed us (*anba’anā*) as someone read to him in Jumādā al-Ākhira 443 (October-November 1051):

Abū Bakr ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Ja‘far b. Aḥmad b. Yazdād b. Ma‘rūf the jurist, known as Ghulām al-Khallāl⁴⁵ (285-363/898-973) reported to us through a license of transmission (*ijāzatan*):

—al-Azjī added: someone also read before Abū al-Qāsim Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ja‘far al-Sājī (d. 379/989) as I sat listening, and he said:

Abū Bakr ‘Abd al-‘Azīz⁴⁶ narrated to us (*ḥaddathanā*):—

Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Khallāl narrated to us:

1. Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī narrated to us: I heard a man say to Abū ‘Abd Allāh⁴⁷—Allah have mercy on him: “I have

⁴⁵ “al-Khallāl’s Servant.” A major erudite figure of the early Ḥanbali transmitters second only to his teacher al-Khallāl, student to Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān b. Abī Shayba and teacher to Ibn Baṭṭa among many others.

⁴⁶ I.e. the above-mentioned Ghulām al-Khallāl. This is a second chain of transmission provided by al-Azjī to strengthen his first chain. In the first chain al-Azjī narrates directly from Ghulām al-Khallāl but through a license of transmission, without direct audition; in the second chain he narrates with direct audition but from an intermediary who had direct audition from Ghulām al-Khallāl. The second chain is technically stronger (because of *taḥdīth*, direct audition, as opposed to mere *ijāza*) but the first chain is shorter and therefore more prestigious.

⁴⁷ I.e. Imam Aḥmad.

enough,”⁴⁸ whereupon he replied: “Work the market (*ilzam al-sūq*) so that you can keep family ties and give [others].”

2. Abū Bakr also reported to us that a man—one of the disciples of Ibn Aslam⁴⁹—asked Abū ‘Abd Allāh—Allah have mercy on him: “Should I work in your opinion?” He replied, “Yes, and spend the surplus [of your need] on your close family as charity.”

3. Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī also reported to us that he heard Abū ‘Abd Allāh say: “I ordered them—meaning his sons⁵⁰—to frequent the marketplace and go into trading,” and he added: “It was related from ‘Ā’isha—Allah be well-pleased with her—that the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—said: “Truly the purest and most delicious thing a man can eat is what he eats from his own earnings.”⁵¹

4. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn reported to me that al-Faḍl b. Ziyād narrated to them: I heard Abū ‘Abd Allāh command others to work the marketplace, saying: “How excellent it is to be independent from others!”

⁴⁸ *Innī fī kifāya*, I have enough to suffice myself.

⁴⁹ “One of the trustworthy hadith masters and *abdāl* among the *awliyā*” (al-Dhahabī): see biographical glossary.

⁵⁰ He had seven sons and one daughter among whom ‘Abd Allāh and Ṣāliḥ, born of different mothers, were the most famous: Ibn al-Jawzī, *Manāqib* (p. 303 §64).

⁵¹ Aḥmad (6:31); Abū Dāwūd (*Buyū*^ʿ, *al-rajul ya’kul min māl waladih*); al-Nasā’ī (*Buyū*^ʿ, *al-ḥathth ‘alā al-kasb*); and Ibn Mājah (*Tijārāt*, *al-ḥathth ‘alā al-makāsib*); cf. al-Tirmidhī (*Aḥkām, mā jā’ anna al-wālid ya’khudh min māl waladih*); all with the continuation “and truly a man’s son is part of his earnings.” See also note 107.

5. Muḥammad b. Mūsā reported to me: I heard ‘Alī b. Ja‘far say: “My father went to see Abū ‘Abd Allāh and took me with him. He said to him: ‘Abū ‘Abd Allāh, this is my son,’ whereupon he supplicated on my behalf and told my father: ‘Let him work the marketplace and keep him away from boys his age.’”⁵²

6. Zakariyyā b. Yaḥyā—Abū Yaḥyā al-Nāqīd—reported to me: I consulted Abū ‘Abd Allāh and said to him: ‘I rent myself out as a day labourer but my parents want me to open my own shop.’ He said: ‘So do! There might be a funeral, someone might get sick.’⁵³ I said: ‘It is hard work and my partner who is supposed to assist me does not do his part!’ He said: ‘So remind him of his duties.’ In other words the whole time he is urging to work and trade.”

7. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Maymūnī reported to me that Abū ‘Abd Allāh —Allah Most High have mercy on him— recounted that a man said to al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā who used to go trading at sea: “You⁵⁴ go to sea in pursuit of the wares of this world?” He replied: “I love to be independent from your kind of people!”

⁵² I.e. to protect him from bad influence.

⁵³ Meaning: you will then be in a position to help the bereaved or the sick person and their family. Al-Khallāl elsewhere related from Abū Bakr al-Marīdī: “Abū ‘Abd Allāh mentioned to me a poor man who was sick and said: ‘Go to him and ask him: What do you crave so that we can prepare it for you?’ [Later] he gave me something nice and said: ‘Prepare it nicely.’” Ibn al-Jawzī, *Manāqib* (p. 272 §51).

⁵⁴ I.e. a scholar such as you. Thus do many treat the ulema: they look down on them when they are poor and they question their piety when they seek income.

8. Yūsuf b. Mūsā reported to us that Abū ‘Abd Allāh—Allah have mercy on him—was once asked about the statement of Ṭāwūs: “O Allah, keep away from me property and progeny!”⁵⁵ He replied: “This was indeed related from Ṭāwūs—and who was like Ṭāwūs?” Then he said: “[Nevertheless] Wealth is part of health (*al-ghinā min al-‘āfiya*).”⁵⁶

9. Ya‘qūb b. Yūsuf al-Muṭṭawī‘ī reported to us: I heard Abū Bakr b. Jannād say: I heard al-Jaṣṣāṣī say: I asked Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal—Allah have mercy on him: “[Of] four dirhams of income [which is better]: a dirham from fair trade (*tijāra barra*); a dirham from brotherly ties (*ṣilat al-ikhwān*); a dirham from teaching wages (*ajr ta‘līm*); and a dirham from the land revenue (*ghalla*) of Baghdad?” He replied: “The most beloved to me is a dirham from fair trade and the most abhorrent to me is the one from brotherly ties. As for teaching wages, if one needs it one may take it; and as for the land revenue of Baghdad, you are well aware of its [controversial] status, so why ask me about it?”⁵⁷

⁵⁵ The full statement continues, “and grant me faith and deeds.” al-Khaṭīb, *Muwaddiḥ Awhām al-Jam‘ wal-Tafrīq* (ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥyā al-Mu‘allimī, 2 vols. Hyderabad: Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1378/1959) 1:14. Another version has “O Allah, deprive me of abundant property and progeny but grant me faith and deeds.” Abū Nu‘aym (4:9). “Give him wealth and progeny” was used as a curse in a sound Prophetic hadith narrated from Fuḍāla b. ‘Ubayd by al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu‘jam al-Kabīr* (18:313 §808) and Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (1:438-439 §208) and in the saying of the Companions, cf. *Ḥaṭṭh* (Ḥaddād ed. p. 32-34).

⁵⁶ *al-ghinā min al-‘āfiya*, a famous advice of the great Ṭābi‘ī Abū Qilāba al-Baṣrī to Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī cf. Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, *Iṣlāḥ al-Māl* (p. 76 §224).

⁵⁷ “Some said Baghdad is a land of despoliation (*dār ghaṣb*)... while others said it consists of endowments, however, those we have seen of

10. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Maymūnī reported to us: “Abū ‘Abd Allāh—Allah have mercy on him—urged me to see to my estate (*day‘a*) and said:

- What a loss is the estate without its owner nearby!
- I have not visited my estate since the last time I saw you; I am keeping away from the sultan and I hate him.

I complained to him about some of my problems caused by debt and necessity. He said:

- What will you do when you cannot do without him [the sultan]? You have no choice here but to pray for him.⁵⁸
- Do I really have to?
- What else can you do?

I realised he advocated toleration and indulgence (*al-tas’hīl wal-rukḥṣa*) for the most part. He said to me spontaneously one day:

- Abū al-Ḥasan, be independent from people through your own hard work. There is nothing better than independence from people in my eyes!
- Why are you telling me this?
- Because if you have something, you can improve it, live in it, and develop it some more. You can do without the help of others thanks to it. Truly wealth is part of health!

the scholars, judges, witnesses and jurists all agree that the land of Baghdad belongs to its respective owners and is valid to inherit, fructify and sell without reservation, and their ruling is conclusive.” al-Khaṭīb, *Ṭārīkh Baghdād* (1:21-22).

⁵⁸ Meaning: accept his gifts of land and monetary support and pray for him.

Thus he insisted on maintenance and development (*al-iṣlāḥ*) for me more than once, and to pursue independence from people through improvement of whatever I had been granted; and he criticised dependence on people in the harshest terms. I continued:

- Our estate is part of al-Raqqā⁵⁹ a few days away and there is a Christian monastery. They live in complete isolation from people. There is only a small number of Christians there, and there is a town not far from it.

- What town?

- Well, it has a muezzin.

- Is it part of Syro-Palestine (al-Shām)⁶⁰?

- No, it is part of Upper Mesopotamia (al-Jazīra)⁶¹ toward Ra's al-‘Ayn.⁶²

- A fine spot. (He meant for the monastery.)

- There is just one thing that worries me. The monastery is isolated and there is no one there except Christians; but I dislike the fact that whenever I want to pray I cannot find anyone to pray with me.

- When it is time to pray raise the call to prayer then the last call (*iqāma*); if anyone shows up pray with them, otherwise pray alone.

⁵⁹ An Iraqi city that was the imperial capital in Abbasid times, on the north bank of the Euphrates in present-day north central Syria about 160 km east of Aleppo. Šifīn was part of al-Raqqā and hence it houses the tomb of Uways al-Qaranī who died in that battle.

⁶⁰ Present-day Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Jordan.

⁶¹ *Jazīra* means “island” in reference to the area between the Tigris and the Euphrates i.e. northwestern Iraq, northeastern Syria and southeastern Turkey. Its major cities are Mosul, Deir ez-Zor, Raqqā, al-Ḥasaka, Buṣayra, Diyārbakr, Qāmishli and Mārdīn: en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Jazira,_Mesopotamia.

⁶² A city of north Syria on the Turkish border, part of al-Ḥasaka governorate.

So Abū ‘Abd Allāh—Allah have mercy on him—thought well of that place and was keen for me to live there. He was evidently happy when I described it to him and how isolated it was. I said:

- The town is just over a *mīl*⁶³ away from me so I can go there for Jumu‘a and do my prayers the rest of the week in the monastery.
- In that place what can you do if you have no one to pray with you? Just raise the first and final calls to prayer then pray alone.

I would see Abū ‘Abd Allāh go and fix something with his own hand. He would mend whatever needed mending and frequently checked his living quarters. I visited him more than once at night (*baytan*) and saw him striking the ground with his hand and leveling the soil with his own hand.⁶⁴

11. Muḥammad b. Mūsā reported to me: Abū ‘Abd Allāh—Allah have mercy on him—said to me in 219 (834) the year al-Mu‘taṣim came to power,⁶⁵ when I visited him as he was buttressing something with mud with his own hand: “For this,” he said, gesturing toward the residents, as if saying he was mending it to lease it out (*lil-kirā*).

12. Zuhayr b. Ṣālīḥ b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal—Allah be well-

⁶³ The *mīl* is variously defined by the lexicographers as the distance as far as the eye can see or one third of a parasang, which comes to 1 English mile=1.609km.

⁶⁴ This detail is meant to illustrate what Imam Aḥmad meant by his advice and also to show that he humbly practised what he preached.

⁶⁵ The Berlin ms. has “in 217.”

pleased with him—said: I heard my father [Ṣālih] say: “At times he [Aḥmad] would take the adze (*qadūm*) and go to someone’s residence to do some manual labour.

13. Muḥammad b. Abī Hārūn reported to us that Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Hānī’ narrated to them: Abū ‘Abd Allāh—Allah have mercy on him—once told me:

*A little property you maintain will endure,
but even a vast property is lost when it goes to ruin.*⁶⁶

14. Hārūn b. Ziyād reported to us: Ibn Abī ‘Umar narrated to us: Sufyān narrated to us: from Mis‘ar: from Sa‘d b. Ibrāhīm: from Ḥumayd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, that ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb—Allah be well-pleased with him—said: “I fear foolish mismanagement (*khurq*) for you more than destitution (‘*awaz*)! Nothing is lost through repair but nothing remains once it gets ruined.”⁶⁷

15. Ḥarb b. Ismā‘īl reported to me: al-Musayyab b. Wāḍih narrated to us: Ash‘ath—Ibn Shu‘ba—said: “I said to

⁶⁶ Said by the poet al-Mutalammis al-Ḍuba‘ī cf. Ibn Qutayba, ‘*Uyūn al-Akhbār* (4 vols. Cairo: Dār al-Kutub wal-Wathā‘iq al-Qawmiyya, 1996) 2:195 and elsewhere.

⁶⁷ The context was that news had reached ‘Umar that someone in a detachment riding back from al-Qādisiyya had a mare that gave birth in the night but in the morning he slaughtered the foal—a common practice—saying: “What, am I going to live to ride it?” ‘Umar wrote: “Take good care of whatever property Allah bestows on you and there is plenty of time for such a matter.” Hannād b. Sarī, *al-Zuhd* (ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fariyawā’ī, 2 vols., Kuwait: Dār al-Khulafā’ lil-Kitāb al-Islāmī, 1406/1985) 2:655 §1441; Wakī‘ b. al-Jarrāh, *al-Zuhd* (ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fariyawā’ī, 3 vols., Madina: Maktabat al-Dār, 1404/1984) 3:785 §470; al-Bukhārī, *al-Adab al-Mufrad* (ed. Samīr Zuhayrī, 2 vols., Riyadh: Maktabat al-Ma‘ārif, 1419/1998) 1:242 §478, *Bāb ishtinā‘ al-māl*.

Ibrāhīm b. Ad'ham⁶⁸: 'I work for hire in the marketplace and at times I miss the congregational prayer.' He said: 'Work for hire for a while so that you will become self-sufficient, and do your prayers on time.'⁶⁹

16. Abū Bakr al-Marwadhī reported to us: I heard Abū Ja'far al-Khurāsānī say: I heard Shu'ayb say: I asked Sufyān al-Thawrī⁷⁰: "What do you see about a bleacher (*qaṣṣār*) who earns one dirham in which is his and his dependants' sustenance, but he cannot make it to the congregational prayer; however, if he merely earns four *dawānīq*⁷¹ he can make it to the congregational prayer but does not have enough to feed both himself and his dependants: which is better?" He replied: "For him to earn a dirham and pray alone is preferable."⁷²

17. Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī reported to us: I said to Abū 'Abd Allāh: "What was the reason Sufyān al-Thawrī travelled to Yemen?" He replied: "For trade and to meet Ma'mar." They said: "He had one hundred dinars?" He replied: "Seventy for certain" (*ammā sab'ūn fa-ṣaḥīḥa*).

⁶⁸ A major ascetic, see biographical dictionary.

⁶⁹ I.e. the worker may not be able to attend the congregation (*jamā'a*) without permission from the employer but the latter cannot prevent him from at least performing prayers on time, individually. In contexts of outright hostility the Shari'a, moreover, permits praying in a manner unnoticeable to others.

⁷⁰ Another famous ascetic, see biographical dictionary.

⁷¹ The *dāniq* is one sixth of a dirham, so four *dawānīq* are 2/3 of a dirham. See al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāyīs*, s.v.

⁷² See to that effect the biographical notice on Sufyān and his reply to Ibn Mahdī who was missing congregational prayers for the sake of serving him on his deathbed. This all refers to strict necessity. Workers or merchants who have more than a day's need are of course not excused.

18. Yāḥyā b. Ṭālib al-Anṭākī reported to us: al-Musayyab b. Wāḍiḥ narrated to us: Yūsuf b. Asbāṭ said to me: “Sufyān al-Thawrī died leaving 200 dinars.” I asked him: “How did he, the ascetic (*zāhid*) among scholars, have 200 dinars?” He replied: “Time after time he would place something (*yadaʿ al-shayʿ*) with his brothers, and blessings ensued for him because of that.”⁷³ He would say: ‘Never were resources (*al-quwwa*) more beneficial for those who have them since Allah Most High sent Muḥammad—upon him blessings and peace—than in our time.’”⁷⁴

19. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Mukram reported to me: I heard Abū al-Ḥasan al-Zāhid (the Ascetic) say that a man asked Sufyān b. ʿUyayna: “Can someone be an ascetic when he owns 100 dinars?” He replied yes. “How?” the man asked. Sufyān replied: “If it gets depleted he does not worry and if it increases he does not rejoice, nor does he abhor parting with it through death.”

20. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn reported to us: Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAṭṭār narrated to me: Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Aswad said: from ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mūsā who said: I heard Sufyān al-Thawrī say: “Money in our time is a weapon.”

21. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb reported to me: Abū Bakr—i.e. b. Ḥammād al-Muqriʿ—narrated to us: Aḥmad b. Yaʿqūb narrated to us: Abū al-Faṭḥ [Naṣr b. al-Mughīra]

⁷³ I.e. in the form of investments, partnership, loans, gifts, deposits, or storage of goods.

⁷⁴ Also related as “Never before were assets (*al-ʿudda*) so vital as in our time.” Abū Nuʿaym (6:380).

narrated to us: “Sufyān disparaged those people—those who do not view work [as licit] (*al-ladhīna lā yarawn al-ʿamal*). He also said: ‘Abū Bakr—i.e. al-Ṣiddīq—saw a young man begging (*yasʿal*) so he hired him to work for him.”

22. Aḥmad b. Maṣṣūr al-Ramādī reported to us: ‘Abd al-Razzāq narrated to us: Muḥammad b. Thawr narrated to us: Sufyān al-Thawrī would pass by us as we sat in the Sacred Mosque and ask: “What made you sit here?” They said: “What else can we do?” He said: “Ask for the bounty of Allah and do not be dependants of the Muslims.”⁷⁵

23. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal—Allah be well-pleased with him—narrated to us: Muhannā narrated to me: Abū Ḥāzīm—a shaykh that lived in our area in Acre (ʿAkkā)—narrated to me that Sufyān al-Thawrī said: “It is incumbent on a man to seek knowledge if he has his pittance [*lit.* a palmful of food].”

23a. I also heard Muḥammad b. Ishāq mention: from ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Saʿīd: from Ibn Abī ‘Utba: from Sufyān al-Thawrī: “If you have wheat then turn to worship; if not then seek after it”—meaning seek its lawful portion (*yaʿnī min ḥillih*).

24. Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī reported to us: I heard Abū Jaʿfar al-Khurāsānī say: Abū Ṣāliḥ narrated to us: I heard Yūsuf b. Asbāṭ say to Shuʿayb b. Ḥarb: “Do you realise that seeking a lawful income is a categorical obligation (*farīḍa*)?” He said yes.

⁷⁵ Also related from ‘Umar by Ibn Abī al-Dunyā in *Iṣlāḥ al-Māl* (p. 74 §219).

25. Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī reported to us: from Abū ‘Abd Allāh: from Abū Ja‘far al-Hadhdhā’: from Shu‘ayb b. Ḥarb: “Do not scorn a penny (*fals*) you acquire by obeying Allah. You might buy with it beans that will hardly settle in your stomach before all your sins are forgiven.”

26. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Muqri’ reported to us: Yūsuf b. Muslim narrated to us: I heard ‘Alī b. Bakkār say: “Ibrāhīm b. Ad’ham used to work for hire (*kāna yu’ājir nafsah*), Sulaymān al-Khawwāṣ scavenged (*yalqut*)⁷⁶ and Ḥudhayfa [al-Mar‘ashī] was a brickmaker (*yadrīb al-labīn*).”

27. Aḥmad b. al-Faraj Abū ‘Utba al-Ḥimṣī reported to us: Baqīyya narrated to us that whenever someone asked Ibrāhīm b. Ad’ham “How are you?” he would reply: “I am well as long as no one other than myself carries the burden of feeding me.”

28. Ḥarb b. Ismā‘īl reported to us: al-Musayyab b. Wāḍih narrated to us: Ash‘ath b. Shu‘ba said: Ibrāhīm b. Ad’ham said to one of his brothers: “Do not be without a trade (*ḥirfa*). When you have that, you have work; but when you have no trade you will be notorious (*‘urifta*).”⁷⁷

⁷⁶ I.e. spoiled or discarded food or garments, or the ears of grain which the sickles had missed during harvest, etc. See biographical entry on Sulaymān al-Khawwāṣ.

⁷⁷ I.e. you will be labeled as someone in need, which is tantamount to begging as Ibrāhīm b. Ad’ham narrated from Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab: “Whoever keeps to the mosque and quits his trade and accepts every donation has begged with importunity (*qad alḥaṣa ḥil-su‘āl*).” Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, *Iṣṭāḥ al-Māl* (p. 76 §228).

29. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim al-Azdī reported to us: Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī narrated to us: al-Fayḍ b. Ishāq narrated to us: I asked al-Fuḍayl b. ‘Iyād: “If a man were to sit in his house claiming that he trusts in Allah and his sustenance will come to him [what is his status]?” He replied: “It means that when he trusts in Allah until he is sure that he most certainly trusts in Him, there is nothing preventing him if that is what he wants. However, neither the Prophets nor the non-Prophets did this. Prophets used to work for hire. The Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—worked for hire, as did Abū Bakr and ‘Umar. They never said, ‘We shall sit at home until Allah sends sustenance.’ Indeed, Allah Most High said in His Book, *and seek after the bounty of Allah* (al-Jumu‘a 62:10). Therefore one must work for a living.”

30. ‘Umar b. ‘Alī reported to me: Hārūn b. Sufyān al-Mustamlī narrated to us: I heard Aswad b. Salīm say: “Buy and sell even without any gain.”

31. ‘Abd al-Malik [b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd] al-Maymūnī reported to me: Abū al-‘Abbās [Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Aṣamm] the companion of Abū ‘Utba⁷⁸ narrated to me: I asked Bishr b. al-Ḥārith about earning [a livelihood] and he said: “Yes, by my life!” as if to say he did not accept any alternative. He also said: “One must be watchful over one’s [lawful] income, sustenance, and residence. One must scrutinise one’s trade.”

32. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barāthī reported to us: When news of what was spent on us out of our

⁷⁸ See §27 and §42.

father's inheritance reached Bishr b. al-Ḥārith he said to me: "It grieves me to hear that so much of that wealth was spent on you. You must go gently and spend frugally. I would much prefer for you to sleep hungry but be in possession of your wealth than sated but deprived of it!"⁷⁹

32a. [al-Barāthī continued:] Bishr also said to me in the same exchange: "News has reached me that you are not keeping a work schedule at the marketplace. Keep a work schedule at the marketplace!" Then we talked some more and again he said: "Keep a work schedule at the marketplace even if not." It came to my heart that he meant: even if you make no profit. He also said: "Give salam to your mother and tell her to go gently and spend frugally."

33. Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī reported to me that he heard one of his shaykhs say: I heard Abū Yūsuf al-Ghasūlī say: "Twelve dirhams a year are enough for me—one dirham a month. The only thing that pushes me to work is the tongue of those devotees (*qurrā'*)⁸⁰ who keep asking: 'From where does Abū Yūsuf get his sustenance?'"

34. Abū Bakr also reported to us: I heard Ḥaramī b. Yūsuf say: I heard Abū Yūsuf al-Ghasūlī say: "I have been the jurisprudent (*faqīh*) of my food for 60 years."

⁷⁹ This is advice from Bishr al-Ḥāfi against extravagance and luxury and a confirmation that savings are not only lawful but advisable.

⁸⁰ The word *qurrā'* (sing. *qārī'*) literally means "Qur'ān reciters" but here refers to uneducated worshipers as in the saying reported from Mālik b. Dīnār and Ḥabīb al-Fārisī: "I swear that *shayṭān* plays with the *qurrā'* the way little boys play with marbles," after which Ibn al-Jawzī comments: "What is meant by *al-qurrā'* is *al-zuhhād*, it is an o and well-known appellation for them." Ibn al-Jawzī, *Talbis* (2:915-917 §174-175).

35. Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī reported to me: I heard Ishāq b. Dāwūd say: I heard al-Ḥasan b. al-Rabīʿ say: “I would prefer to earn a single *qirāṭ*⁸¹ rather than have someone help me out with ten dirhams.”

36. Abū Bakr also reported to me: I heard Muḥammad b. Muqātil say: “A man must scrutinise the provenance of his daily bread and the provenance of his dirham. Sufyān said: ‘Do the deeds of heroes—meaning earn a lawful living.’”⁸²

37. Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī reported to us that he read before Abū ʿAbd Allāh—Allah have mercy on him—that Ibn Mahdī related from Sufyān: from ʿAmr b. Qays: from ʿĀṣim: from Abū Wāʿil: “One dirham from trade is dearer to me than ten from a donation.”

38. Ḥarb reported to me: Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Juʿfī narrated to us: Abū Usāma narrated to us: from Yazīd b. Ibrāhīm al-Tustarī: from al-Ḥasan: “There are two delicious foods: a man’s load on his back and the work of his hand.”

39. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Mahdī reported to me: ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Rabīʿa narrated to us: Ibn al-Mubārak narrated to us: from Sufyān: from ʿAmr b. Qays: from ʿĀṣim b. Abī al-Najūd: from Abū Wāʿil, this hadith:

⁸¹ One sixteenth of a dirham. See al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāyīs*, s.v.

⁸² Sufyān’s full statement is “Do the deeds of heroes: earn a lawful livelihood and spend on your dependants” (*ʿalayha bi-ʿamal al-abṭāl: al-kasb min al-ḥalāl wal-infāq ʿalā al-ʿiyāl*), also related as a saying of Ibrāhīm b. Adʿham, Muḥammad b. Wāsiʿ, Ibn al-Mubārak, and even as a Prophetic hadith cf. *Ḥathth*, al-Ḥaddād ed. (p. 63).

40. Muḥammad also reported to us: Wakī‘ narrated to us: from Sufyān: from ‘Amr b. Qays: from ‘Āṣim b. Abī al-Najūd: from Abū Wā’il: “One dirham from trade is more beloved to me than ten from a donation.”⁸³

41. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Arafa⁸⁴ reported to us: Qudāma b. Shihāb al-Māzinī al-Baṣrī narrated to me: from Ismā‘īl b. Abī Khālīd: from Wabara: from Ibn ‘Umar: the Prophet—Allah bless and salute him—was asked about the purest earning (*ṭyab al-kashb*) and he replied: “The work of a man’s own hand and every lawful-and-blessed sale (*bay‘ mabrūr*).”⁸⁵

42. Aḥmad b. al-Faraj Abū ‘Utba al-Ḥimṣī reported to us: Baḡiyya [b. al-Walīd] narrated to us: from Shu‘ba: from al-Ḥakam;⁸⁶

42a. Aḥmad also reported to us: al-Ḥasan [b. ‘Alī b. ‘Affān al-Kūfī] narrated to us: Yaḥyā b. Ādam narrated to us: ‘Abd al-Salām [b. Ḥarb] and Ibn al-Mubārak narrated to us: from Shu‘ba: from al-Ḥakam: from Mujāhid, concerning the saying of Allah Most High, *eat of the pure things we have granted you for sustenance* (Sūrat al-Baqara 2:57 and 2:172; Sūrat al-A‘rāf 7:160; Sūrat Ṭaha 20:81), that he said: “Trade.”⁸⁷

⁸³ This brings to three the prestigious narrators of the same report (§§37, 39-40): Ibn Maḥdī, Ibn al-Mubārak, and Wakī‘, all of them from Sufyān with the same chain between the latter and Abū Wā’il.

⁸⁴ A major hadith scholar, see biographical glossary.

⁸⁵ al-Ṭabarānī through trustworthy narrators cf. al-Haythamī (4:61) and it is confirmed by many Companions cf. *Ḥaṭṭh* (Ḥaddād ed. p. 66-69).

⁸⁶ First of two chains through Abū ‘Utba al-Ḥimṣī for the report.

⁸⁷ Some mss. (cf. Riyadh University ms. Majmū‘ 1928 and Zāhiriyya ms. 116) here erroneously have *eat of the pure things you have earned* which

43. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī reported to us: Yahyā b. Ādam narrated to us: Warqā’ narrated to us: from Ibn Abī Najīḥ: from Mujaḥid, concerning the saying of Allah Most High *spend out of the pure things you have earned* (Sūrat al-Baqara 2:267): “From trade.”⁸⁸

44. Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī reported to us: al-Warkānī narrated to us: al-Mu‘āfā b. ‘Imrān narrated to us: from Sufyān: from al-A‘mash: from Ibrāhīm who said: “It used to be said that the trader is better than the idler (*al-tājir khayrun min al-jālis*).”

45. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal reported to us: my father—Allah have mercy on him—narrated to me: Sufyān [b. ‘Uyayna] narrated to us: from Abū Ishāq: “They considered affluence (*sa‘a*) a help in one’s religion.” Sufyān was asked: “Sufyān al-Thawrī mentioned that?” He said yes.⁸⁹

46. Muḥammad b. Maḥdī b. Ja‘far al-Šūrī reported to us in Tyre (Šūr): I heard my father say: “I was in Tarsus

blurs together two verses: *eat of the pure things we have granted you for sustenance* (see above) and *spend out of the pure things you have earned* (Sūrat al-Baqara 2:267) which comes up several times in the next pages. Al-Kawtharī preserved this error in his edition of *al-Ḥaṭṭh* while Abū Ghudda changed it to *eat of the pure things we have granted you for sustenance* and al-Ḥaddad changed it to *spend out of the pure things you have earned*. The only authentic version of Mujaḥid’s gloss appears to be the latter (2:267) as gleaned from the dition of his own *Tafsīr* as well as those of Sa‘īd b. Maṣṣūr, Ṭabarī, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Ibn al-Mundhir, Abū Ḥayyān.

⁸⁸ See also §§55, 65.

⁸⁹ To ascertain the narrative chain for this specific narration since both Sufyāns generally took hadīth from Abū Ishāq (see him in the biographical glossary) but Ibn ‘Uyayna also narrated from him through al-Thawrī’s intermediary.

(Ṭarasūs) when al-Ma'mūn came there, bringing with him Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal—Allah have mercy on him—and Ibn Nūḥ, both of them in chains.⁹⁰ Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal wrote to me on a slip of paper: 'You are aware of our situation, were it not for which I would have come to you. However, if you can possibly come to see us then do.' I went to see them and was able to speak to them. Among the reports Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal—Allah have mercy on him—wrote from me: Ḍamra narrated to us: from Rajā' b. Abī Salama: from 'Abd Rabbih b. Sulaymān b. Zunbūr: from Ibn Muḥayrīz: 'There is no food that fills the space between my two flanks after I have toiled more beloved to me, even the daintiest dishes, than the food of a truthful merchant (*tājir ṣadūq*).'"

47. Bishr b. Mūsā al-Asadī wrote me: 'Abd Allāh b. Šālih al-ʿIjlī narrated to us: Isrāʾīl narrated to us: from Abū Ḥamza: "I asked Ibrāhīm [= al-Nakhaʿī] about a man who quits trade—meaning he devotes himself to prayer; and another man who busies himself with trading: which is better? He replied: 'A trustworthy trader.'"

48. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. ʿAffān reported to us: Yaḥyā b. ʿAffān narrated to us: Qays [b. al-Rabīʿ] narrated to us: from 'Abd Allāh b. ʿAṭā': from Abū Jaʿfar: "At the time [ʿUthmān] b. ʿAffān was killed the [yearly] revenue (*ghalla*) of his datepalm orchards had reached 100,000 [dinars]."⁹¹

⁹⁰ It must have been other than Ibn Nūḥ (see biographies) since he had fallen sick and died in Anah (ʿĀna), an Iraqi town near the Euphrates about 320km west of Baghdad—where Aḥmad prayed over him and buried him—after being taken from his home in Baghdad to al-Raqqa in Syria, long before reaching Ṭarsus.

⁹¹ Cf. "The agricultural land revenue (*kharāj*) of Samarra (Surramanraʿā) was 400,000 dinars a year." al-Yaʿqūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān* (Leiden: Brill,

49. al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad al-Dūrī reported to us—I myself asked him: Ja‘far b. ‘Awn narrated to us: al-A‘mash narrated to us: from Salama: from Abū Ḥabīb: ‘Umar said: “Abū Ḥabīb, invest in some holdings (*ittakhidh mālan*).”⁹²

50. Aḥmad b. Maṣṣūr Zāj al-Marrūdhī reported to us: al-Naḍr b. Shumayl narrated to us: Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj narrated to us: I heard Qatāda say: I heard Muṭarrif b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Shikhkhīr say: from Ḥakīm b. Qays b. ‘Āsim: from his father, that the latter counseled his sons: “You must have wealth and increase it (*‘alaykum bil-māl wa-iṣṭinā’ih*),⁹³ for it is the incentive (*manbaha*) of the generous and provides autonomy from the misers. Never ask others. Asking [people] is a man’s last avenue of income. When I die do not wail over me. No one wailed over the Messenger of Allah—Allah bless and greet him.”

51. Ḥarb b. Ismā‘īl al-Kirmānī reported to us: Bashshār b. Mūsā narrated to us: ‘Abbād narrated to us: Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd narrated to us: from Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab: “There is no goodness in someone who does not seek wealth by which to repay his debt, preserve his good name (*‘ird*), meet his

1892) p. 364. Abū Ja‘far is Muḥammad al-Bāqir, b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn.

⁹² Namely livestock, as explicitly mentioned in another version whereby ‘Umar asked: “How much do you own, Abū Ḥabīb?” “Presently I have 2,500 [dinars].” “So invest in some livestock; soon little boys (*ughaylima*, i.e. the Umayyads) from Quraysh will come [to power] and prevent this [kind of] gift.” Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi‘ Bayān al-‘Ilm* (Cairo: Idārat al-Ṭibā‘at al-Muniriyya, 1346?/1928?) 2:14.

⁹³ Other versions of this report have: “You must tend to your property” (*‘alaykum bi-iṣṭilāḥ al-māl*) cf. al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu‘jam al-Kabīr* (18:340 §870); Ibn Shabba, *Tārīkh al-Madīnat al-Munawwara* (ed. ‘Alī Muḥammad Dandal and Yāsīn Sa‘d al-Dīn Bayān, 2 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1417/1996) 2:533.

responsibilities, and if he dies he leaves it as an inheritance to those after him.”

52. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Aḥmasī reported to us: Wakī‘ informed us: from Sufyān: from Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd: from Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab that the latter left a few dinars [for his heirs] and said: “O Allah! You know that I did not gather it other than to maintain my religion and my good name. There is no good in someone who does not gather wealth with which he can repay his debt and protect his reputation (*yakuffu bihi wajhah*).”

53. Ḥarb b. Ismā‘īl reported to us: Abū Ma‘n al-Raḡāshī narrated to us: ‘Umar b. Dharr informed us: from Mujāhid: “When Allah grants one of you a thousand dirhams, let him not spend it and then say ‘Allah will sustain me.’ Rather, let him seek within it of the bounty of Allah.”⁹⁴

54. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl reported to us: Wakī‘ informed us: from Mūsā b. ‘Alī b. Rabāḥ al-Lakhmī: from his father: I heard ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ say:

The Messenger of Allah—Allah bless and salute him—said to me: “‘Amr, get dressed, gird your weapon and come and see me.” I did so and found him making his ablution. He trained his eye on me to make sure who it was and said: “‘Amr, I want to send you in a certain direction where Allah Almighty will keep you safe and enrich you. It is my good wish for you that you come into wealth.” I said: “Messenger of

⁹⁴ I.e. put it to work wisely in between avarice and prodigality, cf. *And do not keep your hand chained to your neck (when spending), nor open it completely, so that you will sit blamed and destitute* (Sūrat al-Isrā’ 17:29).

Allah, I did not submit out of desire for wealth but only out of desire for jīhad and always being with you.” He said: ‘Amr, righteous wealth for a righteous person is a wonderful thing!’”⁹⁵

55. Muḥammad reported to us: Wakī^ʿ informed us: from Shu‘ba: from al-Ḥakam: from Mujāhid, [regarding] *spend out of the pure things you have earned* (Sūrat al-Baqara 2:267): “From trade.”⁹⁶

56. Muḥammad reported to us: Yūnus b. Abī Ishāq narrated to us: from his father: from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abzā: “Dāwūd the Prophet—upon him peace—said: “What wonderful helpers (‘awn) are wealth (*ghinā*) and affluence (*yasār*) toward religion!”⁹⁷

57. Muḥammad reported to us: Wakī^ʿ narrated to us: from Sufyān: from al-‘Alā’ b. al-Musayyab: from [Wahb] Ibn Munabbih: “Poverty is certainly the greatest death.”

58. Muḥammad reported to us: Wakī^ʿ informed us: from Muḥammad b. Salīm: from Ibn Abī Mulayka: from ‘Ā’isha: “Abū Bakr—Allah be well-pleased with him—was the most

⁹⁵ Aḥmad (4:202-203) and others through the narrators of al-Bukhārī or Muslim cf. al-Haythamī (4:64).

⁹⁶ Cf. §§43, 65.

⁹⁷ Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaḥ* (ed. Mukhtār Aḥmad al-Nadwī, 2nd ed., 15 vols., Mumbai: al-Dār al-Salafiyya, 1399/1979) 13:204 §16111. A Prophetic hadith narrated from Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī states “Truly this money is verdant and sweet; whoever takes it rightfully and puts it in its rightful place, what a wonderful helper it is!” al-Bukhārī (*Riqāq, mā yuḥdhar min zahrāt al-dunyā*) and Muslim (*Zakāt, takhawwuf mā yakhruj min zahrāt al-dunyā*).

trade-proficient (*atjar*) of all Quraysh until he became involved in governance.”

59. Muḥammad reported to us: Wakī^ʿ informed us: from al-A^ʿmash: from Khaythama: Abū al-Dardā^ʿ—Allah be well-pleased with him—said: “I was a merchant before Allah sent forth the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace. When the Prophet was sent I wanted to join between trading and worship but this proved impossible. So I quit trading and turned to worship.”⁹⁸

60. Muḥammad reported to us: Wakī^ʿ narrated to us: from Mis^ʿar: from Abū Yaḥyā:⁹⁹ from a shaykh of theirs: “I saw ‘Alī wearing a coarse waist-wrap. He said: ‘I bought it for five dirhams; whoever gives me a dirham of profit for it, I will sell it to him.’”

61. Muḥammad reported to us: Wakī^ʿ informed us: from Sharīk: from Simāk b. Ḥarb: from ‘Ikrima: from Ibn ‘Abbās—Allah be well-pleased with him and his father: “A camel caravan reached Madina. The Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—bought [on credit] from them and [later sold the wares and] made a few ounces of profit which he distributed among the widows of Banū ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. He then said: ‘I will no longer buy anything unless I have its price.’”¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ This position is well-established on the part of Abū al-Dardā^ʿ. Other cases of similar dedication were Abū Hurayra and al-Bukhārī, who pursued the acquisition of knowledge full-time even when famished. Others such as Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf etc. were able to join trade and worship: *Ḥathth* (al-Ḥaddād ed. p. 92-96).

⁹⁹ This is Yazīd b. al-Kalā^ʿi, an unknown; cf. Abū Nu^ʿaym (7:269-270).

¹⁰⁰ Aḥmad (1:235); Abū Dāwūd (*Buyū^ʿ, al-tashdīd fil-dayn*), and al-

62. Muḥammad reported to us: Wakī^ʿ informed us: from ʿAmr b. ʿĪsā b. Naʿāma: Ḥurayth b. al-Rabī^ʿ al-ʿAdawī narrated to us: I heard ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb say:

Three types of travel have been made obligatory for you: *Ḥajj*, *ʿUmra*, and when a man seeks [the bounty of Allah] in any one of those [well-known licit] ways. Then the one who is self-sufficient (*al-mustaghni*) and the one who gives charity (*al-mutaṣaddiq*)—meaning: they are better [than those who are not self-sufficient nor able to give charity]. By Allah! if I were to die in any one of those ways it would be lovelier to me than dying in my own bed; and if you called it martyrdom (*shahāda*) I would certainly consider it martyrdom.¹⁰¹

63. Yaḥyā reported to us: ʿAbd al-Wahhāb narrated to us: Saʿīd informed us: from Qatāda: from ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb:

O people! It was proclaimed as an obligation upon you¹⁰² that each of you must use his wealth to seek something of the bounty of Allah. Therein lie true

Hākim, *Mustadrak* (2:24). “Lest he get into debt and then cannot repay, because it might lead to his dying in a state of debt”: Abū al-Ḥasan al-Sindī, *Hāshiyat Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal* (ed. Nūr al-Dīn Ṭālib, 17 vols., Qatar: Wizārat al-Awqāf wal-Shuʿūn al-Islāmiyya, 1428/2008) 2:356 §1224.

¹⁰¹ The Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—had called ʿUmar a *shahīd* on several occasions and the latter often prayed for “martyrdom in Medina” to the point his daughter wondered how it would reach him there. He replied to her—as he also did from the pulpit on Jumuʿa: “Truly, the One who brought me out from Makka unto migration to Medina is able to bring me martyrdom in it!” al-Ṭabarānī in *al-Awsaṭ* through trustworthy narrators cf. al-Haythamī (9:54-55), cf. al-Bukhārī (*Faḍāʾil al-Madīna*, *karāha an tuʿrā al-Madīna*), from Aslam.

¹⁰² Mss.: *khudhiba* ʿalaykum and *kutiba* ʿalaykum, which are synonymous.

worship and the confirmation of faith (*al-taṣḍīq*). I swear it by Allah! If I were to die sitting between the two pommels of my saddle while roaming the earth seeking the bounty of Allah with my capital, it would be lovelier to me than to die in my own bed.

64. Yaḥyā reported to us: ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. ‘Aṭā’ al-‘Ijlī narrated to us: Sa‘īd b. Abī ‘Arūba informed us: from Qatāda b. Di‘āma who said regarding this verse: *Believers! Do not wrongfully consume each other’s wealth except through mutually agreed trade* (Sūrat al-Nisā’ 4:29):¹⁰³

Trade (*tijāra*) here is one of the types of sustenance granted by Allah (*rizqun min rizq Allāh*) and one of the types of licit income granted by Allah (*ḥalālun min ḥalāl Allāh*) for whoever pursues it with its requisite truthfulness and piety (*bi-ṣidqihā wa-birrihā*).

65. Yaḥyā reported to us: ‘Abd al-Wahhāb informed us: Shu‘ba informed us: from al-Ḥakam b. ‘Uṭayba: from Mujāhid who said regarding this verse, *Believers! spend out of the pure things you have earned* (Sūrat al-Baqara 2:267): “Out of trade.”¹⁰⁴

66. Yaḥyā narrated to me: ‘Abd al-Wahhāb informed us: Sa‘īd informed us: from Qatāda: “It used to be narrated to

¹⁰³ Mistranslated by Muhammad Asad as “Do not devour one another’s possessions wrongfully—not even by way of trade based on mutual agreement” as he did not understand that the exceptive *illā* here denotes a “dissociated exception” (*istithnā’ munfaṣil/munqaṭi‘*) in the sense of “but rather” cf. Wright, *Grammar of Arabic* ii.335D (§186) and linguistic commentaries (e.g. al-Zamakhsharī, al-Bayḍāwī, Ibn ‘Aṭiyya, Abū al-Su‘ūd...).

¹⁰⁴ Cf. §43, §55.

us¹⁰⁵ that the truthful and trustworthy merchant (*al-tājir al-ṣadūq al-amīn*) is with the seven [types] that are in the shade of the Throne on the Day of Resurrection.”¹⁰⁶

67. Abū Bakr al-Marrūdihī reported to us: from Abū ‘Abd Allāh: ‘Abd al-Razzāq narrated to us: Ma‘mar informed us: Hammām b. Munabbih narrated to us: “This is what Abū Hurayra narrated to us from the Messenger of Allah—upon him blessings and peace: ‘Dāwūd never ate other than from the work of his own hand.’”¹⁰⁷

68. Ḥarb reported to me: Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān reported to me: Abū Usāma narrated to us: from Hishām b. ‘Urwa: from his father [‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr]: “Dāwūd addressed people from his pulpit while plaiting palm-leaves (*khūṣ*) with his hand. He made large baskets (*quffā*) and other things with it. Then he would send it out with whoever was in charge of selling it and he would eat from its proceeds.”¹⁰⁸

69. Ḥarb reported to me: Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal narrated to us: Hārūn narrated to us: Ḍamra narrated to us: from

¹⁰⁵ When a *Tābi‘ī* says this it implies such a saying was narrated from several Companions and was widespread among them.

¹⁰⁶ Narrated as a Prophetic hadith from Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī in the wording “the truthful and trustworthy merchant is with the Prophets, the *Ṣiddiqīn*, the *Shuhadā’* and the *Ṣāliḥīn* on the Day of Resurrection” by al-Tirmidhī (*Buyū‘, mā jā’ fī tark al-shubuhāt*) and Ibn Mājah (*Tijārāt, al-ḥathth ‘alā al-kasb*).

¹⁰⁷ Aḥmad (2:214); cf. al-Bukhārī (*Buyū‘, kasb al-rajul wa-‘amaluh bi-yadih*) from al-Miqdām in the wording: “No one ever ate better food than the work of his hand. Truly the Prophet of Allah, Dāwūd—upon him peace, used to eat from the work of his hand.”

¹⁰⁸ Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf* (11:551) as a saying of ‘Urwa.

[‘Uthmān] Ibn ‘Aṭā’: from his father [‘Aṭā’ al-Khurāsānī]: “Sulaymān b. Dāwūd plaited palm-leaves with his own hands and ate barley bread.”¹⁰⁹

70. Ḥarb reported to me: ‘Alī b. ‘Uthmān narrated to us: Hushaym narrated to us: al-‘Awwām b. Ḥawshab informed us: al-Qāsim b. ‘Awf reported to me that Ka‘b [al-Aḥbār] said: “Idrīs [the Prophet] was a righteous man who devoted himself to worshipping Allah, fasted and prayed. He was a taylor (*khayyāl*) and gave alms out of the surplus of his income.”

71. Ḥarb reported to me: ‘Alī b. ‘Uthmān narrated to us: Ḥammād b. Salama informed us;

71a. also, al-Dūrī reported to us: ‘Ārim narrated to us: Ḥammād b. Salama narrated to us: from Thābit: from Abū Rāfi‘: from Abū Hurayra: the Messenger of Allah, upon him blessings and peace, said: “Zakariyyā was a carpenter.”¹¹⁰

72. al-‘Abbās al-Dūrī reported to us: ‘Ārim narrated to us: Ḥammād b. Salama narrated to us: ‘Alī b. Zayd narrated to us: from Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab: “Luqmān was a taylor.”¹¹¹

73. ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Maymūnī reported to us: Hārūn b. Ma‘rūf narrated to us: Sufyān narrated to us: “It is not part of your love for this world to pursue, out of it, what improves your situation.”

¹⁰⁹ Aḥmad, *Zuhd* (p. 115) with the continuation: “barley bread with pits in it, and he would feed the Israelites nuts.”

¹¹⁰ Aḥmad (2:296), Muslim (*Faḍā’il, Zakariyyā*), Ibn Mājah (*Tijārāt, šinā’āt*).

¹¹¹ Aḥmad, *Zuhd* (p. 64).

74. Yazīd b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Aṣbahānī reported to me: al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Sinān al-Makkī narrated to us: I read before al-Ḥasan b. al-Faraj that Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna was asked about sustenance (*al-qūt*) and its strict minimum: “Is there any accounting for it?” He said no.

75. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl reported to us: Wakī‘ informed us: from Ḥammād b. Salama: from Hishām b. Zayd; from Anas b. Mālīk: The Messenger of Allah—upon him blessings and peace—said: “If Resurrection rises while one of you is holding a seedling in his hand, let him plant it.”¹¹²

76. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥāzim reported to us that Ishāq b. Maṣṣūr narrated to them that he asked Abū ‘Abd Allāh about the saying of ‘Alī [b. Abī Ṭālib, Allah be well-pleased with him]: “Four thousand and less is for living expenses (*nafaqa*); whatever exceeds that amount is a treasure (*kanz*).”¹¹³ Aḥmad said: “It means one must not keep to himself more than 4,000.”¹¹⁴ Ishāq b. Maṣṣūr said: Ishāq b. Rāhūyah said: “It means the 4,000 he needs, as if he were saying he will not be accountable for them, but whatever is more than that is a treasure—and when *zakāt* is remitted out of a treasure it is no longer called a treasure.”

77. Muḥammad b. Ayyūb reported to us: Wakī‘ narrated to us: from Sufyān: from Abū Ḥaṣīn [‘Uthmān b. ‘Āṣim al-Asadī]: from Abū al-Ḍuḥā [Muslim b. Ṣubayḥ]: from Ja‘da

¹¹² Aḥmad (3:184) and others through highly trustworthy narrators cf. al-Haythamī (4:64).

¹¹³ A reference to the saying of Allah *They who hoard up (yaknizūn) gold and silver and spend it not in the way of Allah...* (Sūrat al-Tawba 9:34-35).

¹¹⁴ “I.e. dirhams. This figure is assessed relative to times, places, and persons.” Abū Gludda, *Ḥaṭṭh* (p. 63n.).

b. Hubayra: from ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib—Allah be well-pleased with him: “Four thousand and less is for living expenses; whatever exceeds that amount is a treasure.”

78. Hārūn b. Ziyād reported to us: Ibn Abī ‘Umar narrated to us: Sufyān narrated to us: from Mis‘ar: from Abū Ḥaṣīn; from Ja‘da b. Hubayra: from ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib—Allah be well-pleased with him: “Four thousand and less is for living expenses; whatever exceeds that amount is a treasure.”

79. Also related in this chapter is the saying of the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace: “It is enough of a sin for someone to let his dependants perish.”¹¹⁵

80. Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī reported to us: I heard Abū ‘Abd Allāh say [regarding the afore-mentioned hadith]: “Therefore let all servants of Allah fear Him and feed them pure and licit sustenance exclusively”—meaning dependants. I said to Abū ‘Abd Allāh: “Someone said: ‘I will not earn a living until I make sure that I have the right intention.’” He replied: “Since it is obligatory for him to protect them, it follows that maintaining them is part and parcel of his [right] intention.”¹¹⁶

81. Muḥammad b. Abī Hārūn reported to me that Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Hānī’ narrated to them: I heard Abū ‘Abd Allāh say when asked about the hadith of the Prophet—

¹¹⁵ Aḥmad (2:160); cf. Muslim (*Zakāt, faḍl al-naḥaqa ‘alā al-‘iyyāl*) with the wording: “for someone to withhold their food from his slaves.”

¹¹⁶ I.e. there is no question that maintaining them is the right intention; moreover, supporting dependants is not in need of intention as to validity because it is a categorical obligation that does not permit delay.

upon him blessings and peace, “It is enough of a sin for someone to let his dependants perish”: “A man has close relatives (*qarāba*) then he travels and leaves them. When he leaves them by themselves will they not perish if they have no other source of support besides him?” I said yes. He continued: “That is its meaning.”

82. Muḥammad b. Abī Hārūn related to me that Ishāq narrated to them that Abū ‘Abd Allāh was asked about a man who left behind dependants and small boys, and he feared lest they fall into neglect. He already went on pilgrimage once and now he wants to travel to Kufa then go from it on pilgrimage [another time]. Abū ‘Abd Allāh said: “No, let him not go and neglect them! It is enough of a sin for someone to let his dependants perish.”¹¹⁷

83. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥassān and Yūsuf b. Mūsā reported to me that Abū ‘Abd Allāh was asked about the hadith, “It is enough of a sin for someone to let his dependants perish” and he replied: “When he toils to support his dependants, how would he possibly let them perish?” He was asked: “And if he feeds them illicit sustenance, is he letting them perish?” He replied: “Absolutely!”¹¹⁸

84. Muḥammad [b. Ismā‘īl al-Aḥmasī] reported to us: Wakī‘ narrated to us: from Isrā‘īl: from Abū Ishāq: from

¹¹⁷ There are many examples of the *Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ* expressing disapproval of voluntary pilgrimages when funds could be used for other people in need or worthier causes, not to mention dependants.

¹¹⁸ *Fa’in at‘amahum ḥarāman, yakūnu ḍay‘atan lahum? Qāla: Shadīdan!* This is a point of paramount importance for present-day agrarian Asian Muslim communities that thrive on the cultivation of illicit plants (such as opium and tobacco) on the pretext they are avenues out of poverty.

Wahb b. Jābir al-Khaywānī: from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr [Allah be well-pleased with him and his father] who asked his superintendant (*qayyim*): “Did you allocate to my family their provisions for this month?” He said yes. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr continued: “I heard the Messenger of Allah—upon him blessings and peace—say: “It is enough of a sin for someone to let his dependants perish.”

85. Muḥammad reported to us: Wakī‘ informed us: from al-A‘mash: from Abū Ishāq: from Wahb b. Jābir al-Khaywānī: from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr: The Messenger of Allah—upon him blessings and peace—said: “It is enough of a sin for someone to let his dependants perish.”

86. Muḥammad b. Mu‘ādh reported to me: al-Qa‘nabī narrated to us: ‘Abd al-‘Azīz narrated to us: from Thawr, from Abū al-Ghayth: from Abū Hurayra: The Messenger of Allah—upon him blessings and peace—said: “One who strives to support the widow and the needy is like one who struggles in the path of Allah (*kal-mujāhid fī sabīl Allāh*) and like one who rises to pray at night and fasts in the day.”¹¹⁹

87. Abū Umayya reported to us: Manṣūr b. Salama al-Khuzā‘ī and Abū al-Jamāhir narrated to us, both saying: ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad [al-Mājishūn] narrated to us: from Thawr: from Abū al-Ghayth: from Abū Hurayra: The Messenger of Allah—upon him blessings and peace—said: “One who strives to support the widow and the needy is like one who struggles in the path of Allah and like one who rises to pray at night and fasts in the day.”

¹¹⁹ al-Bukhārī (*Nafaqāt*, beginning) and Muslim (*Zuhd*, *al-ihsān ilā al-armala wal-mikīn wal-yatīm*).

**AND IN THIS CHAPTER IS THE DISLIKED STATUS OF
EATING TOO LITTLE AND VENTURING INTO DESERTS
WITHOUT PROVISIONS NOR FUNDS**

88. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Ya‘qūb al-Ḥubulī¹²⁰ reported to us: I heard ‘Uqba b. Mukram ask Abū ‘Abd Allāh: “Those types (*hā’ulā’*) who eat very little (*ya’kulūn qalīlan*) and from very few types of food (*yuqallilūn min ṭa‘āmihim*)?” He said: “I disapprove of it (*mā yu‘jibunī*). I heard ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī say: “Certain people did this and it prevented them from performing their categorical obligations (*al-fard*).”¹²¹

89. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥassān reported to us that a man said to Abū ‘Abd Allāh: “I would like to go out to Makka; do you command me to do it?”¹²² He replied: “If you can bear it; otherwise no, not without provision and mount. Do not take risks!”

90. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥassān reported to me that Abū ‘Abd Allāh was asked about a person’s venturing into the desert without provision and he condemned it very strongly, saying: “*Uff, uff!* No, nooo!”—drawing out his voice—“except with provision, company, and a caravan!”

¹²⁰ After the Banū Ḥublā in Yemen cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Luḥb al-Luḥab* (ed. P.J. Veth, Leiden: 1840, rept. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d.) p. 75b; corrupted to “al-Ḥanbalī” in Abū Ghudda’s edition and “al-Jilī” in Ḥaddād’s edition, who repeated the mistake found in the defective mss. and editions of Ibn al-Jawzī’s *Talbīs Iblīs* for the same report; but see its 2002 Riyadh edition (3:1303 §312) and the mss. of the *Ḥathth* (Riyadh f°9a and Ḍāhiriyya 116 f°11a). al-Ḥubulī is unknown in the Ḥanbalī biographical dictionaries.

¹²¹ This practice is established from al-Junayd, al-Tustarī, al-Nawawī, as well as those mentioned herein, but Allah gives success to whom He likes.

¹²² I.e. with nothing.

90a. Abū Bakr al-Khallāl says: In Abū ‘Abd Allāh’s reply to the first question of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn, “If you can bear it; otherwise no,” [the upshot is that] if he can bear it and knows that he is strong enough to do that—so that he does not ask anyone [for help] and does not advertise himself (*lā yastashrifu nafṣah*) as willing to take or be given anything or accept [a handout]—then he is as one who is relying [on Allah] on a truthful basis (*mutawakkil ‘alā al-ṣidq*). The scholars consider such reliance permissible as I will shortly show, and also in light of what Abū ‘Abd Allāh himself practised.

91. I heard Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī say: I heard Abū ‘Abd Allāh—Allah have mercy on him—say: “I went on pilgrimage five times, two of them on foot. For some people 14 dirhams were enough to go [from Baghdad] to Makka.” I asked, “Who, O Abū ‘Abd Allāh?” He replied: “Myself.” Thus whoever is able to do that, then yes. But as for someone who takes risks and goes out without provision while not expecting himself to bear it: the scholars abominated it. Abū ‘Abd Allāh very forcefully condemned the proponents of reliance (*al-muttakilūn*) in such circumstances.

92. Ibrāhīm b. al-Khalīl reported to me that Aḥmad b. Naṣr—Abū Ḥāmid—narrated to them that Abū ‘Abd Allāh was asked by a man whether he should leave for Makka with complete reliance—without carrying anything with him—and he replied: “I disapprove of this! I never heard that any of the Companions of the Messenger of Allah—upon him blessings and peace—or any of the Successors ever did this. He should work, search out [his sustenance], and scrutinise [his income].”

92a. Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī said on this question that a man from the disciples of Ibn Aslam came to Abū ‘Abd Allāh

and asked him: “What do you say about someone who wants to travel—which do you like best for him: to carry provisions with him or to rely [on Allah]?” Abū ‘Abd Allāh replied to him: “To carry provisions *and* rely [on Allah].”

93. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Simsār reported to us: Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Mushaysh narrated to them: a man from Khurāsān¹²³ asked Abū ‘Abd Allāh:

- Shall I go on pilgrimage without provision?
- No. Work, ply a trade, then go. The Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—always equipped his Companions with provisions.
- Then those people who go on military raids and pilgrimage without provisions are wrong?
- Yes, they are wrong.

94. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Jāmi‘ al-Rāzī reported to me: I heard Abū Mu‘īn al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan al-Rāzī say: I witnessed Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal being asked by a man from the people of Khurāsān:

- Abū ‘Abd Allāh, I have one dirham and I feel (*urāhu*) I should go on pilgrimage with that dirham.
- Go to Bāb al-Karkh¹²⁴ and buy manna¹²⁵ with this dirham.

¹²³ A central Asian region regrouping the cities of Balkh, Bukhārā, Herat, Kabul, Merv, Naysābūr, Samarqand, Tirmidh, and Ṭūs.

¹²⁴ The gateway to the Karkh area which is the half of Baghdad that lies west of the Tigris. Ibn Jubayr in his *Rihla* described it as a walled city in its own right.

¹²⁵ *al-mann*. “Several species of manna have been identified botanically. These include an exudate of the European flowering ash (*Fraxinus ornus*) and a species of lichen of the genus *Lecanora*, still found on barren

Keep hauling it on top of your head until you have 300 dirhams. When you have 300 dirhams, go on pilgrimage.

- Abū ‘Abd Allāh, do you not see the [corrupt] ways people are earning a living (*mā tarā makāsib al-nās*)?

- Look at this reprobate (*unzur ilā hādhā al-khabūth*)! He wants to demolish the livelihoods of people (*yurīdu an yufsida ‘alā al-nāsi ma‘āyishahum*).

- Abū ‘Abd Allāh, I am someone who relies [on Allah alone] (*anā mutawakkil*)!

- So you enter the desert alone or with people?

- No, with people.

- Then you are lying! You are certainly not someone who relies on Allah. Go alone into the desert! Otherwise you are someone who relies on people’s knapsacks (*jurub al-nās*).

95. Abū Bakr Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṣadaqa reported to me: Ishāq b. Dāwūd b. Ṣabīḥ narrated to us: I told ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī: “Abū Sa‘īd, in our country there is a large group of those Sufis.” He said: “Do not go near them. We have seen many of them; some ended up mad and some ended up as heretics.”¹²⁶ Sufyān al-Thawrī went on a trip once and I saw him off. He had with him a travel food-basket containing flour and honey pastries (*fālūdhaḡ*) and milk-fed baby lamb (*ḡamal*)!”

plains and mountains in many sections of Western Asia and North Africa.” *New Columbia Encyclopedia* (ed. William Harris and Judith S. Levey, New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1975) p. 1684.

¹²⁶ See introduction, “Imam Aḡmad and Sufism” as well as (i) Abū Ghudda’s critique of this and the next two reports, *Ḥaṡṡṡ* (p. 73-74) and (ii) Shaykh Ḥasanayn Muḥammad Makhlūf’s foreword to Abū Ghudda’s first edition of al-Muḡṡasibī’s *Risālat al-Mustarshidin* (8th ed. Beirut, 1416/1995) p. 23-29. Ibn Ṣabīḥ is “a person of disclaimed reports” (*ṡāḡib manākīr*): al-Khaṡīb, *Tārīkh* (6:373 §3400).

96. Ṭālib b. Qurra al-Adhanī reported to us: Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā narrated to us: Ibn al-Mubārak said to us: “I never saw any reasonable person (‘*āqil*) among them”—meaning Sufis.¹²⁷

97. Ishāq b. Sayyār al-Naṣībī reported to us: ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ziyād al-Naṣībī¹²⁸ said to us:

We were with Mālik and I mentioned to him the Sufis of our regions. I said to him: “They wear the most luxurious Yemeni clothes and do this and that.” He said to me: “Woe to you! And these are Muslims?” I said yes. He burst into laughter until he had to lie on his back. One of those who were sitting with him said to me: “What is this? We never saw greater trouble (*fiṭna*) for this shaykh than you. We never saw him laugh before.”

98. Aḥmad b. Maṣṣūr reported to us: ‘Abd al-Razzāq

¹²⁷ I.e. overzealous Sufis. A weak report: Ṭālib b. Qurra is unknown; thus spelled in ms. *Zāhiriyya* 118/6 and both editions of the *Ḥathth* but “Ibn Ḥurra” in Ibn Abī Ya‘lā, *Ṭabaqāt* (1:179) and Ibn al-Jawzī, *Manāqib* (p. 134); and “Ibn Ḥamza” in al-‘Ulaymī, *al-Manhaj al-Aḥmad* (ed. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Arnā’ūt, 6 vols., Beirut: Dār Ṣādir,) 2:113 and Ibn Muflīh, *al-Maqṣad al-Arshad* (ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-‘Uthaymīn, 3 vols., Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd, 1410/1990) 1:459 §484. Adhanī=from Adhana, present-day Adana in Southern Turkey. As for Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā he is not the arch-master Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā b. al-Ṭabbā‘ (d. 224/839) as claimed by al-Ḥaddād (*Ḥathth* p. 144) but rather Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā b. Ziyād al-Dāmaghānī al-Rāzī who is merely “acceptable” (*maqbul*) in hadith according to Ibn Ḥajar in his *Taqrīb*.

¹²⁸ “Disclaimed in his narrations and untrustworthy” (*munkar al-ḥadīth, ghayr thiqa*) according to al-Azdī as cited by Ibn al-Jawzī in *al-Du‘afā’ wal-Matrūkīn* (ed. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qāḍī, 3 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1406/1986) 1:149.

narrated to us: Ibn ‘Uyayna narrated to us: from ‘Abd al-Malik [b. Abjar]: from al-Sha‘bī: regarding the saying of Allah Most High *and take along provision* (Sūrat al-Baqara 2:197). He said: “That is hollow biscuit (*ka‘k*) and dates.”¹²⁹

99. Aḥmad narrated to us: ‘Abd al-Razzāq narrated to us: Ibn ‘Uyayna narrated to us: from Muḥammad b. Sūqa: from ‘Ikrima;

99a. Aḥmad also narrated to us: Abū Nu‘aym narrated to us: from al-Thawrī: from Muḥammad b. Sūqa: from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr regarding the saying of Allah Most High *and take along provision*. They both said it means hollow buiscuit and *sawīq* gruel.¹³⁰

100. Aḥmad reported to us: ‘Abd al-Razzāq narrated to us: ‘Umar b. Dharr narrated to us: I heard Mujāhid say: “They used to go on pilgrimage without taking along provisions, so a dispensation was given to them concerning provisions and the verse was revealed: *And take along provision; and truly the best provision is Godwariness* (Sūrat al-Baqara 2:197).”

101. Aḥmad narrated to us: ‘Abd al-Razzāq narrated to us: Ibn ‘Uyayna narrated to us: from ‘Amr b. Dīnār: from ‘Ikrima: “They used to go on pilgrimage devoid of any provisions, whereupon they were commanded to take provisions.” He added: “The best provision is Godwariness.”

¹²⁹ Because they do not spoil, which is the gist of the verse.

¹³⁰ *Sawīq* is a decoction of wheat or barley boiled with ghee or fat and sweetened, thus called because it goes down smoothly (*yansāq*). It is either sipped or dried up into cakes and eaten.

102. al-Ḥusayn¹³¹ b. Aḥmad al-Kirmānī reported to us: Abū Bakr¹³² narrated to us: Suwayd b. ‘Amr al-Kinānī narrated to us: from Abū ‘Awāna: from Mughīra: from Ibrāhīm: *And take along provision; and truly the best provision is Godwariness.* He said: “Some of the Arabs, when they went on pilgrimage and reached a mountain-road, would forego provisions. They would say: ‘We trust.’ So they were commanded to take along provisions.”

103. al-Ḥusayn reported to us: Abū Bakr narrated to us: Shabāba narrated to us: Warqā’ narrated to us: from ‘Amr b. Dīnār: from ‘Ikrima: from Ibn ‘Abbās—[Allah be well-pleased with him and his father: “The people of Yemen used to go on pilgrimage without taking along any provisions and they would say: ‘We trust’ (*naḥnu mutawakkilūn*). Then they would go on pilgrimage, reach Makka, and ask people for handouts, whereupon Allah Most High revealed *And take along provision; and truly the best provision is Godwariness* (Sūrat al-Baqara 2:197).

104. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥakam reported to us: Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Abbās al-Bāhilī narrated to us: Abū ‘Āṣim narrated to us: from ‘Īsā: from Ibn Abī Najīḥ: from Muḥāhid regarding the saying of Allah Most High, *And take along provision*: “Pilgrims would travel from the four corners and support their passage (*yatawaṣṣalūn*) by means of others without taking provisions with them-

¹³¹ As shown in mss. Riyadh University Majmū‘ 1928, folio 10b and Berlin 1807, cf. al-Ḥaddād (*Ḥathth* p. 147), while ms. Ṣāḥirīyya 118/6 has “al-Ḥasan” cf. Abū Ghudda (*Ḥathth* p. 77) which is an error in light of the next chain.

¹³² I.e. Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235/850), “master of hadith masters” (al-Dhahabī) and author of the *Muṣannaf*.

selves, so they were commanded to do so.

105. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. ‘Aṭā’ b. Muslim al-Ḥarrānī al-Bāhili narrated to us: al-Mughīra b. Siqlāb¹³³ narrated to us: ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Abī Rawwād¹³⁴ narrated to us: from Nāfi’: from Ibn ‘Umar [Allah be well-pleased with him and his father]:

The Messenger of Allah—upon him blessings and peace—sent out troops among whom was a man named Ḥudayr. They had suffered a famine that year so the Messenger of Allah supplied them with provisions, but he forgot to supply Ḥudayr. The latter went out patiently and anticipating reward in the hereafter for his self-sacrifice (*muḥtasiban*). He rode at the end of the convoy, saying:

*lā ilāha illā Allāh, Allāhu akbar, al-ḥamdu lillāh,
subḥān Allāh, lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata illā billāh,
ni‘ma al-zād huwa ya Rabb!*

(“There is no god but Allah, Allah is Greatest,

¹³³ Sometimes misspelled Ṣiqlāb with a *ṣād*. Ibn ‘Adī declared him “disclaimed in his narrations” (*munkar al-ḥadīth*) and ‘Alī b. Maymūn al-Raḡī said: “He counts less than a dropping” (*lā yusawwī ba‘ra*), but Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī said: “His hadith is viable” (*ṣāliḥ al-ḥadīth*) and Abū Zur‘a said: “He is safe” (*lā ba‘sa bih*). “And this takes precedence over the verdicts of Ibn ‘Adī and al-Raḡī due to the greater prestige of Abū Ḥātim and Abū Zur‘a”: Ibn al-Mulaqqin, *al-Badr al-Munīr* (ed. Muṣṭafā Abū al-Ghayṭ ‘Abd al-Ḥayy et al., 10 vols., Riyadh: Dār al-Hijra, 1425/ 2004) 1:415-416.

¹³⁴ A narrator used in all four *Sunan* compilations. Aḥmad said his hadith was viable, Abū Ḥātim considered him truthful (*ṣadūq*), Yaḥyā b. Ma‘īn said “trustworthy” (*thiqa*), and Ibn al-Mubārak: “Among the most worshipful of people.” See Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ* and al-Dhahabī, *Kāshif* (1:655 §3387) and *Mizān* where he dismisses Ibn Ḥibbān’s critique of Ibn Abī Rawwād as a lesson in excess.

glory and thanks to Allah, Allah be glorified,
there is no change or might except with Allah
—what wonderful provision all this is, O Lord!”)

He kept repeating it at the end of the convoy. Jibrīl came to the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—and said: “Truly my Lord has sent me to you to tell you that you have supplied your Companions, but you forgot to supply Ḥudayr. He is at the tail-end of the convoy saying:

lā ilāha illā Allāh, wAllāhu akbar, [wal-ḥamdu lillāh], wa-subḥān Allāh, wa-lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata illā billāh, and he is saying: ni‘ma al-zād huwa ya Rabb!

“Those words of his are a light for him on the Day of Resurrection, filling everything between heaven and earth. So send him his provision.”

The Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—summoned a man,¹³⁵ handed him Ḥudayr’s provision and ordered him to reach him and remember whatever he heard him say both before and after he gave him his provision. He told him to say to him: “The Messenger of Allah sends you salam and the mercy of Allah, and he informs you that he had forgotten to supply you but that ‘my Lord Most Blessed and Most High sent me Jibrīl to remind me of you,’ so Jibrīl reminded him and told him about your high rank.”¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Perhaps Ibn ‘Umar himself.

¹³⁶ The discourse switches from oblique to direct and back again, as frequently takes place in the style of the Qur’ān and Sunna.

The man went and reached Ḥudayr as he was saying:

*lā ilāha illā Allāh, waAllāhu akbar, wa-subḥān Allāh,
wal-ḥamdu lillāh, wa-lā ḥawla wa-la quwwata illā
billāh, adding: ni‘ma al-zād hādhā ya Rabb!*

The man approached him and said: “Truly the Messenger of Allah—upon him blessings and peace — sends you salam and the mercy of Allah. He sent me to you to give you the provision I have here, and he says: ‘Truly I had simply forgotten you (*innī innamā nasītuk*), so Jibrīl was sent to me from heaven to remind me of you.’”

Ḥudayr praised and thanked Allah, glorified him, and invoked blessings on the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace. Then he said: “Glory, praise and thanks to Allah the Lord of the worlds! My Lord remembered me from above seven heavens and from above His Throne! He showed mercy toward my hunger and weakness. O my Lord! Just as You did not forget Ḥudayr, let Ḥudayr never forget You.”

The man memorised what Ḥudayr said and returned to the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—recounting to him what he had heard him say when he first reached him and after he had spoken to him. The Messenger of Allah—upon him blessings and peace—said: “Lo! Truly, if you had raised your head to the sky you would have seen those words of his as a blazing light covering everything between heaven and earth.”¹³⁷

¹³⁷ Cf. Ibn Mandah, *Mu‘jam al-Ṣaḥāba* (ed. ‘Āmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī, 2 vols.,

THE PROOF AGAINST THOSE WHO CLAIM THAT THEY RELY [ON ALLAH] AND THEN QUIT WORK

106. Abū Bakr al-Marrūdihī narrated to us: I asked Abū ‘Abd Allāh:

- Those people who claim reliance and neither trade nor work are saying that the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—validated a marriage on the basis of a sura of the Qur’ān [for dowry]:¹³⁸ did he [the bridegroom] have any worldly possessions?
- How can they know he was not working?
- They say “We sit, and our means of sustenance (*arzāqunā*) are the responsibility of Allah Almighty.”
- This is a foul and depraved statement! Allah Most Blessed and Most High says: *When the call to prayer is raised on the day of congregation, hasten to the remembrance of Allah and leave trading* (Sūrat al-Jumu‘a 62:9). What is that except buying and selling?

107. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd al-Wārith al-Ḥimṣī narrated to us: Yaḥyā b. Ṣālīḥ narrated to us: Muḥammad b. ‘Amr al-Makhzūmī narrated to us: ‘Abd Allāh b. Busr al-Māzinī narrated to us that whenever he had finished praying Jumu‘a he would always go into the marketplace according

al-‘Ayn: UAE University, 1426/2005) 1:436-437 §248; Abū Nu‘aym, *Ma‘rifat al-Ṣaḥāba* (ed. ‘Ādil b. Yūsuf al-‘Azāzī, 7 vols, Riyadh: Dār al-Waṭan lil-Nashr, 1419/1998) 2:893-894 §2309; and Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat al-Ṣafwa* and *Muntaẓam*, sub “Ḥudayr.”

¹³⁸ I.e. the hadith from Sahl b. Sa‘d al-Sa‘idī in the Nine Books whereby the Prophet said to one of the *Anṣār* who was so poor all he owned was the waistwrap he wore: “I have married you to this woman on the basis of whatever you have [memorised] of the Qur’ān,” which was several short suras.

to his understanding of this verse: *And when the prayer is ended then disperse in the land and seek of the bounty of Allah* (Sūrat al-Jumu‘a 62:10).

108. al-Marrūdhī reported to us: I said to Abū ‘Abd Allāh: “A group of people were in Makka in a mosque and a man came to them and said: ‘Come take this meat.’ They said: ‘No, first you go and grill it then you can bring it.’” He [Aḥmad] said: “Right then he has ordered him to work! Moreover, when he says ‘I will not work’ but then he is brought something that was produced and earned by other people—why does he accept it?” I said: “He claims it is his [God-given] sustenance (*yaqūl hādhā rizqī*).” Aḥmad said: “Still, he is accepting it from someone who works. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib—upon him peace—used to work until his hand was callused¹³⁹ and the Companions of the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—all used to work.

109. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad reported to us:

I asked my father about certain people who say: “We trust in Allah and do not earn a living (*lā naktasib*).” He said: “All people without exception have to trust in Allah but they benefit themselves by earning a living. Allah Most High said: *hasten to the remembrance of Allah and leave trading* (Sūrat al-Jumu‘a 62:9). It is well understood from that that they earn and work! and the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace — said ‘Whoever supports and raises two or three daughters will have Paradise!’”¹⁴⁰ He meant that anyone

¹³⁹ *Hattā tadbara yaduh*, misspelled *tadhbara* by Ḥaddād (*Ḥathth* p. 154).

¹⁴⁰ Aḥmad (3:147-148), cf. Muslim (*al-Birr wal-ṣila*, *faḍl al-iḥsān ilā al-banāt*) and al-Tirmidhī (*al-Birr wal-ṣila*, *al-naḥḥat ‘alā al-banāt*).

who says otherwise is an imbecile.¹⁴¹ I also heard my father—Allah have mercy on him—say: “Autonomy from people through own’s own quest (*ṭalab*)—meaning work—is much dearer to us than sitting and waiting for what people have to come to us.”

110. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Kaḥḥāl reported to me that Abū ‘Abd Allāh—Allah have mercy on him—said: “It is related from the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—that he said: ‘Whoever has three children who die before the age of liability (*lam yablughū al-ḥinth*) will not be touched by the Fire other than the fulfillment of the Oath [Sūrat Maryam 19:71].’”¹⁴² I asked: “Liability is puberty (*al-ḥulum*)? He said yes.

111. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī [al-Simsār] reported to me: Ṣāliḥ narrated to us that he asked his father—Allah have mercy on him—about reliance and he replied: “Reliance is fine (*al-tawakkul ḥasan*) but a man must not be dependent on others. He must work and make himself and his family independent. He must not quit work.” Ṣāliḥ said: “My father was also asked, while I witnessed, about a group of people that do not work and say, ‘We are relying [on Allah].’ He said: ‘These are innovators (*mubtadi‘a*).’”

112. Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī reported to us that he said to Abū ‘Abd Allāh—Allah have mercy on him—that Ibn ‘Uyayna would say they were innovators, whereupon Abū

¹⁴¹ I.e. to dismiss the Divine order of things and forego the means of obtaining the reward of Paradise by saying “we rely on Allah” is a foolish proposition.

¹⁴² *There is not one of you but shall come to it—an inevitable decree of your Lord.*

‘Abd Allāh said: “Those are wicked people, they want the paralysis and ruin of the world! (*yurīdūn ta‘ṭīl al-dunyā*).”

113. Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī reported to us: I heard Muthannā al-Anbārī say: I heard Bishr b. al-Ḥārith say: “When a man has something he considers good and pure let him use it as his food and steer clear of those filthy things (*hādhih al-aqdhār*).”¹⁴³

114. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal reported to us: I said to my father: “Do you consider it preferable that a man [just] earn his daily sustenance?” He replied: “If he earns more, he can spend it on his close family, or his house, or a guest. That is dearer to me than for him not to earn a living; and it is dearer to me than for him to try to practise abstinence (*yasta‘iff*).”¹⁴⁴

115. Muḥammad b. Ja‘far reported to us: Abū al-Ḥārith narrated to them: I asked Abū ‘Abd Allāh: “A man quits work and sits. He says: ‘I only know of oppressors or usurpers (*mā a‘rif illā zāliman aw ghāṣiban*); therefore I will take what is in their hands but will not assist them or strengthen them in their injustice.’” He said:

¹⁴³ I.e. let him strive not to be a recipient of *zakāt* and of the charities (*ṣadaqāt*) of people as implied in the hadith: “Truly these alms are nothing other than the ordures of people” (*inna hādhih al-ṣadaqāt innamā hiya awsākh al-nās*). Muslim (*Zakāt, tark isti‘māl Āl al-Nabī ‘alā al-ṣadaqa*); al-Nasā’ī (*Zakāt, isti‘māl Āl al-Nabī ‘alā al-ṣadaqa*); Abū Dāwūd (*al-Kharāj wal-fay’ wal-imāra, bayān marwāḍi‘ qism al-khumus wa-sahm dhīl-qurbā*).

¹⁴⁴ As evinced by the famous advice of Salmān to Abū Dharr “Truly your soul has rights over you, your Lord has a right over you, your guest has a right over you,” etc. which the Prophet (upon him blessings and peace) approved. al-Bukhārī (*Tahajjud, man nāma arwala al-layl wa-aḥyā ākhirah*); al-Tirmidhī (*Zuhd*).

No one must quit work and sit in wait for what is in the hands of people [to come to him]. My choice is work, and work is dearer to me. When a man sits without plying a trade, his ego justifies for him taking what is in the hands of people. So when they give him something [he takes it]; but if they refuse him, he busies himself with work. Earning a living means abandoning expectations (*al-iktisāb tark al-ṭamaʿ*). The Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—said: “For a man to carry a rope and bundle up firewood which he then sells in the market to be self-sufficient is better for him than to ask people, whether they give him or refuse him.”¹⁴⁵ So the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—has informed us that work is superior to begging (*al-masʿala*); and Allah Most High said: *hasten to the remembrance of Allah and leave trading* (Sūrat al-Jumuʿa 62:9). This saying of His implies permission in buying and selling (*fa-qawluhu hādhā idhmun fīl-shirāʾ wal-bayʿ*). My choice is that a man must take the trouble of making a living (*wa-anā akhtār lil-rajul al-idṭirāb fī ṭalab al-rizq*) and not be in need of what others possess. That is better in my view.

I [Abū al-Ḥārith] said: “There are right here [in Baghdad] a group of people that say: ‘We rely on Allah and we do not consider it valid to work except with other than oppressors or judges (*al-ẓalama wal-quḍāt*); and in actuality I only know of oppressors.’” Abū ʿAbd Allāh said:

What a fine thing reliance on Allah Almighty is! However, one must not sit idle and do nothing, waiting for this one or that one to come and feed him. We

¹⁴⁵ See next entry on this hadith.

choose work! We seek after our sustenance! We do without begging! Independence from people through work is dearer to me than begging.

116. [Abū al-Ḥārith also said:] Aḥmad¹⁴⁶ narrated to us: Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth narrated to us: from Hishām b. ‘Urwa: from his father: from al-Zubayr: the Messenger of Allah—upon him blessings and peace—said: “For a man to carry a rope and bundle up firewood which he then comes and unloads in the marketplace then sells, by which he obtains sufficiency which he then spends on himself—that is better for him than to ask people, whether they give him or refuse him.”¹⁴⁷

117. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl reported to us: Wakī‘ narrated to us: from Hishām b. ‘Urwa: from his father: from al-Zubayr: the Messenger of Allah—upon him blessings and peace—said: “For a man to get a rope and bundle up firewood which he then comes and unloads in the marketplace then sells, by which he obtains sufficiency and is able to spend on himself—that is better for him than to ask people, whether they give him or refuse him.”

¹⁴⁶ I.e. Ibn Ḥanbal. This Abū al-Ḥārith is Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Abū al-Ḥārith al-Šā’igh cf. Ibn Abī Ya‘la, *Ṭabaqāt* (1:74-75).

¹⁴⁷ Aḥmad (1:164). Also narrated from Abū Hurayra by al-Bukhārī (*Buyū‘, kasb al-rajul wa-‘amaluh bi-yadih*) and Muslim (*Zakāt, karāhat al-mas’ala lil-nās*). “In this hadith there is a Prophetic directive that to obtain sustenance, even small and even through difficulty, is preferable for a person than to ask people and thereby humiliate himself. Moreover this directive is tantamount to a religious obligation, as the one who is physically fit to earn a lawful living in any way whatsoever is not permitted to ask people for a handout, whether they give him or refuse him.” Abū Ghudda, *Hathth* (p. 91 n.).

118. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl reported to us: Wakī‘ narrated to us: from Hishām b. ‘Urwa: from his father: from his grandfather [al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām]: the Messenger of Allah—upon him blessings and peace—said: “For one of you to pick up his rope, go to a mountain, and bring back a bundle of wood on his back which he then sells, thereby obtaining sufficiency with its price, is better for him than to ask people for a handout, whether they give him or refuse him.”

119. Yaḥyā b. Ja‘far reported to us: ‘Abd al-Wahhāb narrated to us: al-Akhḍar b. ‘Ajlān narrated to us: Abū Bakr al-Ḥanafī¹⁴⁸ narrated to me: from Anas b. Mālīk: A man came to the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—and said: “Messenger of Allah, I have come to you from a household [so poor that] by the time I return I think one of them will have died!” The Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—said to him: “Go and see if you can find something [to sell].” He went and returned with a cloth (*hils*) and a drinking bowl (*qadah*), saying: “Messenger of Allah, they used this cloth partly as a blanket and partly as a garment; and this bowl they drank from.” The Prophet said: “Who will buy them from me for a dirham?” A man said: “I will, Messenger of Allah.” The Prophet said: “Who will pay more?” Another said: “I will take them for two dirhams.” The Prophet said: “They are yours.” Then he called the first man and said: “Buy an ax (*fa’s*) for a dirham and with the other dirham buy food for your family.” He did so then came back. The Prophet said to him: “Go to that valley and do not leave in it any thistle or thorn or firewood! And

¹⁴⁸ Abū Bakr ‘Abd Allāh from the tribe of Abū Ḥanīfā, al-Tirmidhī considered him fair in his narration of this report, cf. al-Dhahabī, *Kāshif* (1: 610 §3071).

do not come back to me for fifteen days.” The man went and made a profit of ten dirhams. Then he came back to the Prophet and told him. The Prophet said: “Go and buy food for five dirhams, and with the other five buy clothes for your family.” The man said: “Messenger of Allah, Allah has given me much blessing in what you ordered me to do!” The Prophet said: “This is much better for you than to come on the Day of Resurrection with a blot on your face caused by begging. Begging is unlawful (*al-mas’ala lā taḥill*) except in three cases: (i) for someone who owes an onerous blood-price (*li-dhī damin mūji*); (ii) for one who suffered a disastrous misfortune (*ghurmin mufzi*); and (iii) for someone in desperate poverty (*faqrin mudqi*).¹⁴⁹

GENERAL CHAPTER ON RELIANCE (*tawakkul*) FOR THOSE WHO PRACTISE IT TRUTHFULLY

120. Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī reported to us that Abū ‘Abd Allāh was asked: “What is truthfulness in reliance on Allah Almighty?” (*ayyu shay’in ṣidq al-tawakkul ‘alā Allāh?*). He replied: “[It is] for someone to rely on Allah without there being any human being from whom he expects anything to come to him. When such is the case, then Allah will sustain him and he is relying on Him.”

121. Abū Bakr narrated to us on another occasion: “I mentioned reliance to Abū ‘Abd Allāh—Allah have mercy

¹⁴⁹ Abū Dāwūd (*Zakāt, mā tajūz fih al-mas’ala*); al-Tirmidhī (*al-Ṭalāq wal-li‘ān, bay’ man yazīd*); Ibn Mājah (*Tijārāt, bay’ al-muzāyada*). Also—in part—Aḥmad (3:114, 3:126-127). Both Abū Ghudda (p. 94-96) and al-Ḥaddād (p. 164-176!) here have extremely profuse marginalia yet fail to provide the above documentation.

on him—and he declared it permissible for whoever practises it truthfully.”¹⁵⁰

122. Abū Bakr also reported to us: I asked Abū ‘Abd Allāh about a man who sits in his house and says: “I will sit patiently in this house and I will not reveal my situation to anyone,” although he considers himself able to ply a trade. He replied:

- If he were to go out and ply a trade it would be dearer to me. When he just sits [at home] I fear lest his sitting lead him to something else.
- Such as what?
- He will start expecting (*yatawawqa*[‘]) something to be sent to him.
- Even when something is sent to him he does not take it.
- Good!

122a. [al-Marrūdhī continued:] I told Abū ‘Abd Allāh about a certain man in Makka who said: “I swear I will not eat anything until they feed me.”¹⁵¹ Then he withdrew to Mount Abū Qubays. After that two men came to him as he wore a rag around his waist and they threw in a shirt for him but he did not wear it. They grabbed his hands and put the shirt on him. Then food was placed in front of him but he did not eat until a tongue blade was placed in his

¹⁵⁰ Reliance is obligatory on all but what is meant here is *tawakkul* in its utmost form and extreme mode practised by the ascetics al-Khallāl cites.

¹⁵¹ Var. “until my Lord feeds me.” In Ibn Rajab, *Jāmi‘ al-‘Ulūm wal-Ḥikam* (sub Hadith 49: “If you relied on Allah in the true sense of reliance, He would sustain you the way He sustains the birds, they leave their nests famished in the early morning and they return at night with their bellies full”).

mouth and they force-fed him. Abū ‘Abd Allāh laughed and wondered.

122b. I told Abū ‘Abd Allāh of a man who quit buying and selling and swore to himself that no gold or silver would ever fall into his hand again. He left his big house (*dūrah*) without giving any instructions regarding it. He would go on the road and if he saw anything discarded he would take it from the trash.¹⁵² I [al-Marrūdhī] said to that man: “What is your proof for this? I do not think you have any proof for it other than Abū Mu‘āwiya al-Aswad.” The man said: “Yes, I do: Uways al-Qaranī! He would pass by garbage heaps (*mazābil*) and collect rags.” He [Aḥmad] confirmed his words and said: “He is too strict on himself!” (*qad shaddada ‘alā nafsih*). Then he said: “Two poor souls once came to me (*qad jā’anī nafsān*) asking me something very similar to this. One of them said he goes on the road and finds something like vegetables and such. I told them: ‘Why not find work? Do you want to be notorious?’ (*law ta‘arradtum li-‘amalin? tashharūna anfusakum?*). They replied: ‘And what do we care about notoriety?’ (*wa-aysh nubālī min al-shuhra?*).”¹⁵³

¹⁵² This passage prompted a censorious 12-line outburst from Shaykh ‘Abd al-Fattāh Abū Ghudda—Allah have mercy on him—but see §26 and biographical entries on Sulaymān al-Khawwās and Abū Mu‘āwiya al-Aswad on *liqāt*, a widespread method of spiritual training of masters past and present. We heard from our teacher Shaykh Muhammad Hisham Kabbani: “The *Awliyā* say: We take the bitter grapes and leave the sweet ones to guests.” One of the late masters of Damascus, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Shāghūrī would choose the spoiled apples of the marketplace for himself and leave the good ones for others.

¹⁵³ *Shuhra* is feared as scandalous exposure (*fadiha*, cf. *Lisān al-‘Arab*, sub *sh-h-r*), cf. §28. Abū Ghudda misunderstands the syntax of this passage and punctuates it as if it meant “Why not find work so that you make yourselves famous?” Then he loses patience: “The clauses here are

123. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Maṣṣūr reported to me: al-Māzinī asked Bishr b. al-Ḥārith about reliance (*tawakkul*) and he replied: “The reliant one (*mutawakkil*) does not rely on Allah so that he will be given sufficiency (*li-yukfā*); if this silver¹⁵⁴ came into the hearts of the reliant ones they would holler with remorse and repentance to Allah! Rather, sufficiency comes into the heart of the reliant one from Allah Almighty, so that he confirms (*yusaddiq*) Allah Almighty in all that He guarantees.”

124. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb reported to me: Ismā‘īl [b. Yūsuf al-Daylamī] narrated to them: Shurayḥ [b. Maslama] narrated to us: from Abū Sufyān:¹⁵⁵ from Sufyān [al-Thawrī]: from Abū Sinān [Ḍirār b. Murra]: from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr: “Reliance is the nexus of belief” (*al-tawakkul jīmā‘ al-īmān*).

125. al-Ḥasan b. Ismā‘īl reported to me that he narrated to them from Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥātim: al-Mu‘tamir narrated to us: I heard ‘Abd al-Jalīl b. ‘Aṭīyya narrate from al-Ḥasan: “Truly the servant’s reliance on his Lord is to know that Allah alone is his trust” (*an ya‘lama anna Allāh huwa thiḡatuh*).

laconic and confused, there is deviancy in their subject-matter, and they are not worth any clarification!” (*Ḥathth*, p. 100n). Imam Aḥmad himself narrated from ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb—Allah be well-pleased with him—that he once stopped by a garbage-heap and stayed there until those who were with him seemed bothered and disgusted. Then he said: “Such is your world for which you care so much or rely upon (*hādhihi dunyākum al-latī taḥriṣūn ‘alayhā aw tattakilūn ‘alayhā*)” in Aḥmad, *Zuhd* (p. 147) and Abū Nu‘aym (1:48).

¹⁵⁴ *Fidda*. I.e. money or concern about money.

¹⁵⁵ I.e. Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ḥārith b. Maṣṣūr al-Wāsiṭī al-Zāhid: see the *Tahdhīb* of al-Mizzī and Ibn Ḥajar, *s.v.* Abū Ghudda and al-Ḥaddād fail to identify Abū Sufyān and al-Ḥaddād mistakes Sufyān for Ibn ‘Uyayna.

126. Ḥarb b. Ismā‘īl al-Kirmānī reported to me: ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Sallām narrated to me: Ḥusayn b. Ziyād al-Marrūdhī narrated to us: I heard Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna say: “The nexus of belief is reliance on Allah and the explanation of that reliance is that he be content with whatever He does with him.”

127. al-Dūrī reported to us: Yaḥyā narrated to us: ‘Alī b. Thābit narrated to me: al-Qāsim b. Sulaymān narrated to us: I heard al-Sha‘bī say: “Truly Allah has devotees (*‘ubbād*) beyond Andalusia by a distance like our own from Andalusia, who are unaware that any creature ever disobeyed Allah. The proceeds of their land (*kharājūhum*) are pearl and coral; their mountains are gold and silver; they do not till the soil nor do they plant it; and they do no work. They have fruit-bearing trees right by their doors that feed them, and trees with large leaves that serve as their garments.”¹⁵⁶

128. Abū Bakr b. Ṣadaqa reported to us: ‘Alī b. al-‘Abbās al-Uṭrūshī narrated to us: Abū Bakr al-Raddād narrated to me that he heard Shu‘ayb b. Ḥarb say: A man asked Uways al-Qaranī: “From where will livelihood come?” Uways said: “Tell him: Truly we declare and do swear that those hearts, when they start doubting, no admonishment will benefit them!”

¹⁵⁶ Ibn Ma‘īn, *Tārīkh Ibn Ma‘īn* (ed. ‘Abd Allāh Aḥmad Ḥasan, 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Qalam, n.d.) 1:316 §2117. I.e. only those who live in such paradisiacal conditions are excused from work.

THE BOOK HAS ENDED. ALL PRAISE AND
THANKS BELONG TO ALLAH ALONE.
BLESSINGS AND PEACE ON OUR
LIEGELORD MUḤAMMAD,
HIS FAMILY, AND HIS
COMPANIONS.

۲۲۲۲۲

۲۲۲

۲

Selected Biographical Glossary

of persons cited by al-Khallāl

‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal (213-290/828-903): Imam Aḥmad’s second son and al-Khallāl’s teacher. He finalised and transmitted his father’s *Musnad* and the latter praised his knowledge of hadith. He narrated that Imam Aḥmad said:

When al-Shāfi‘ī came to us [in Baghdad] I took Ishāq b. Rāhūyah by the hand and we went to al-Za‘farānī and told him: “This man has come and we need to hear from him these books. You are more articulate (*aḡṣaḡ*) than us, so you can read them for us before him. So he read them, and the transmission was, for al-Za‘farānī, of the *qirā’atan* type and, for us, of the *‘ardān* type.”¹⁵⁷

On his deathbed ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad asked to be buried in Bāb al-Tibn at the Qaṭī‘at Umm Ja‘far area of Baghdad instead of his father’s gravesite, saying: “I have authentic proof that there is a Prophet buried in al-Qaṭī‘a and I prefer to be near a Prophet than near my father.”¹⁵⁸ A full half of the *Kitāb al-Sunna* published today under his name consists of forgeries.

Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī: Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Marwazī or Marwadhī or Marrūdhī (d. 275/888). A trustworthy hadith master hailing from Merv, he was the closest companion of Imam Aḥmad whom he

¹⁵⁷ Al-Bayhaqī, *Manāqib al-Shāfi‘ī* (ed. Sayyid Aḥmad Ṣaqr, 2 vols., Cairo: Dār al-Turāth, 1390/1970) 1:226.

¹⁵⁸ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān* (5 vols. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1397/1977) 1:306.

helped wash and lay to rest, and al-Khallāl's principal teacher. He was celebrated for his piety and wrote a book on the linguistic difficulties of hadith among other works. He narrated in his *Mansak* that Imam Aḥmad preferred for one to make *tawassul* through the Prophet in every single supplication with the wording:

O Allah! I am turning to You with Your Prophet, the Prophet of mercy. O Muḥammad! I am turning with you to my Lord for the fulfillment of my need.

The report is mentioned in the books of the Ḥanbalī school as part of the *fiqh* of *duʿā* in the rain prayer (*istisqāʿ*).¹⁵⁹ Among al-Marrūdhī's junior students was Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Khalaf al-Barbahārī (d. 329/941).¹⁶⁰

Abū Ishāq: ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Hamdānī al-Sabīʿī (33-127/654-745), a major *Tābiʿī* who narrated from Jarīr, ʿAdī b. Ḥātim, Zayd b. Arqam, Ibn ʿAbbās and many other Companions. From him narrated his son Yūnus, his grandson Isrāʿīl, Shuʿba, the two Sufyāns, Abū Bakr b. ʿIyāsh, and others. He spent his life narrating hadith, fasting in the day and praying at night, and performing jihad.¹⁶¹

Abū Muʿāwiya al-Aswad Mawlā Banī Umayya: His name was Yamān but he is known by his *kunya*. "One of the

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Ibn Muflīḥ, *Furūʿ* (ed. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Tūrķī, 12 vols., Beirut: Muʿassasat al-Risāla, 1424/2003) 3:229 *Istisqāʿ*; al-Mardāwī, *Inṣāf* (ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fīqqī, 12 vols., Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Sunnat al-Muḥammadiyya, 1374/1955) 2:456; al-Buhūtī, *Kashshāf* (ed. Wizārat al-ʿAdl, KSA, 15 vols., Riyadh, 1421/2000) 3:443; Ibn Qudāma, *Wasīyya* (p. 93).

¹⁶⁰ Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila* (1:56).

¹⁶¹ al-Dhahabī, *Kāshif* (2:82 §4185).

major *Awliyā*³ *Allāh*, he was considered to be among the Substitute-Saints (*min al-Abdāl*)” (al-Dhahabī), a companion of Ibrāhīm b. Ad’ham and Sufyān (whom he preferred) who lived outside Damascus. Among those who narrated from him: Aḥmad b. Abī al-Ḥawārī al-Dimashqī, ‘Amr b. Aslam al-Ṭarasūsī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Affān, Qāsīm b. ‘Uthmān al-‘Abdī al-Jū‘ī and others. A visitor asked him why he kept a *muṣḥaf* in his room although he was blind. Abū Mu‘āwiya said: “Can you keep this secret until my death?” The man said yes. Abū Mu‘āwiya said: “Truly whenever I want to read my eyesight is opened for me.”¹⁶² When a group of visitors asked him for his *du‘ā* he said: “O Allāh, grant me mercy through them and do not deprive them because of me.”¹⁶³ Among his sayings: “Allāh is more generous than to lavish His bounty except He completes it,¹⁶⁴ or to have someone use it in a good deed except He accepts it.”¹⁶⁵ Yahyā b. Ma‘īn would narrate the following and weep:

I saw Abū Mu‘āwiya collect rags from garbage-heaps (*al-mazābil*), wash them and wear them, as well as carrot-stumps and other discarded food which he would gather, cook and eat. He was told: “Abū Mu‘āwiya al-Aswad! You can be given better than these to wear.” He would say: “Nothing of what afflicts them in this world really harms them; Allāh will compensate for them every loss with Paradise.”¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² al-Lālakā‘ī, *Karāmāt al-Awliyā*³ (= vol. 5 of his *Sharḥ Uṣūl I’tiqād Ahl al-Sunna*, ed. Aḥmad al-Ghāmīdī, 5 vols., 2nd ed., Riyadh: Dār Ṭayba, 1415/1994) 5:272-273 §213.

¹⁶³ al-Dhahabī, *Siyyar* (9:79).

¹⁶⁴ I.e. to take us back in a state of belief in Him after He lavished belief upon us.

¹⁶⁵ Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, *al-Shukr lillāh* (ed. Muḥammad Basyūnī Zaghlūl, Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyya, 1413/1993) p. 58 §141.

¹⁶⁶ Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh* (67:242-243).

Abū Wā'il: Shaqīq b. Salama al-Asadī (7BH-82/615-701), a "Successor (*tābi'ī*) born in Jāhiliyya" (*mukhaḍḍam*) who narrated from 'Umar and Mu'ādh b. Jabal—Allah be well-pleased with them. From him narrated Manṣūr b. Salama and al-A'mash. "One of the scholars who practised their knowledge" (al-Dhahabī).¹⁶⁷

Abū Yūsuf al-Ghasūlī: Ya'qūb b. al-Mughīra (d. 240/854), one of the great ascetics famous for never eating anything unless absolutely certain of its licitness. He lived a life of jihad on the Syrian-Byzantine frontier of Ṭarasūs and died there. He was praised by his companions al-Sarī al-Saqatī and Ibrāhīm b. Ad'ham as well as by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal as an exemplar of scrupulous Godwariness (*wara'*). He narrated from Sufyān b. 'Uyayna and from him narrated Abū 'Imrān al-Ṭarasūsī. To those who saw him one time refrain from eating and asked him: "Do you doubt it is lawful?" he replied: "I do not doubt it is lawful; but doing-without is only in lawful things" (*innamā al-zuhd fīl-ḥalāl*).¹⁶⁸

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Dhuhlī al-Shaybānī al-Marrūdī al-Baghdādī (164-241/780-855):¹⁶⁹ the pious, ascetic, foremost jurist and hadith

¹⁶⁷ al-Dhahabī, *Kāshif* (1:489 §2303).

¹⁶⁸ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣiḡat al-Ṣafwa* and Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab* (ed. Suhayl Zakkār, 12 vols., Damascus: Suhayl Zakkār, 1988-1989) 10:4659-4660, both *sub* Abū Yūsuf al-Ghasūlī. Ibn Ad'ham called this the *zuhd* of merit (*zuhd al-faḍl*) as opposed to the obligatory (avoiding *ḥarām*) and the cautionary (abstaining when in doubt): Ibn al-A'rābī, *al-Zuhd* (ed. Khadija Kāmil, Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1998) p. 58. The upshot is that it is the highest and best, cf. p. 76.

¹⁶⁹ al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, chapter on Imam Aḥmad; Ibn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya al-Kubrā* (2:46-47); and Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad, *Sīrat al-Imām Aḥmad* (ed. Muḥammad al-Zughlī, Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1997) p. 32-47.

master, “the true Shaykh of Islam and leader of the Muslims in his time, the hadith master and proof of the Religion” (al-Dhahabī) by whom “Allah reinforced this Religion at the time of the Ordeal (*al-miḥna*) as He had reinforced it with Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq on the day of the Great Apostasy (*al-Ridda*)” (Ibn al-Madīnī). The last of the *Mujtahid* Imams whose schools remain to this day, he studied under Hushaym, Ibrāhīm b. Sa‘d, Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna, ‘Abbād b. ‘Abbād, Yahyā b. Abī Zā’ida, Yahyā b. Sa‘id al-Qaṭṭān and countless others. From him narrated al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, Abū Zur‘a [al-Rāzī], Muṭayyan, his sons ‘Abd Allāh and Ṣāliḥ, Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī and a huge array of scholars. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad said: “Abū Zur‘a said to me: ‘Your father memorised a million hadiths.’”

Aḥmad lived at a time when the power of Mu‘tazilites over the caliphate became such that *Ahl al-Sunna wal-Jamā‘a* scholars were routinely persecuted for their affirmation of credal doctrines such as the uncreatedness of the Qur’ān and the vision of Allah in the hereafter. Most of the scholars caved in to the threat of torture except a handful: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal who was jailed and lashed, Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-Khuzā‘ī who was decapitated by al-Wāthiq’s own hand then crucified for six years for declaring that Allah could be seen in the hereafter, Muḥammad b. Nūḥ,¹⁷⁰ Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād who died in chains, al-Faḍl b. Dukayn who replied to his inquisitor, “The Qur’ān is the Speech of Allah and I fear less for my neck than for my shirt-button,” ‘Affān b. Muslim, al-Buwayṭī who died in chains, Ismā‘īl b. Abī Uways, Abū Muṣ‘ab al-Zuhrī, Abū Yahyā al-Ḥammānī, ‘Abd al-A‘lā b. Mus’hir who died in prison, and al-Ḥārith b. Miskīn al-Ḍibbī. Others simply answered “Yes, it is created” and were re-

¹⁷⁰ See *al-Ḥathth* §46 and biographical entry “Ibn Nūḥ.”

leased with a gift of two dinars.

At the time of Aḥmad's 28-month detention and lashing by the authorities he was pressed in vain to admit to the creation of the Qur'ān by relentless arguments which he all rebutted as narrated by his son the hadith master Abū al-Faḍl Ṣālīḥ b. Aḥmad:

- What do you say about the Qur'ān?
- And you, what do you say about the knowledge of Allāh?
- Did Allah not say: *Allah is the Creator of all things* (Sūrat al-Ra'd 13:16)—is not the Qur'ān a thing?
- Allah also said: *Destroying all things* (Sūrat al-Aḥqāf 46:25), then it [the wind] destroyed all except whatever Allāh willed.
- *Never comes there unto them a new (muḥdath) reminder from their Lord* (Sūrat al-Anbiyā' 21:2). Can something new be other than created?
- Allah said: *Ṣād. By the Qur'ān that contains the Reminder* (Sūrat Ṣād 38:1). "The" reminder is the Qur'ān, while the other verse does not say "the."¹⁷¹
- But the hadith of 'Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn states: "Allah created the Reminder."
- That is not correct, several narrated it to us as: "Allah *wrote* the Reminder."¹⁷²
- What about the hadith of Ibn Mas'ūd: "Allah did not create a garden of Paradise nor a fire of Hell nor a heaven nor an earth more tremendous (*a'zam*) than the Verse of the Throne (2:255)"?¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ Another version states that he answered: "It is possible that it is the Qur'ān's revelation to us (*tanzīluhu ilaynā*) that is new; not the *dhiḥr* itself." Narrated through al-Bayhaqī by Ibn Kathīr in *al-Bidāya wal-Nihāya* (ed. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī, 21 vols., Jīza (Egypt): Dār Hajar, 1419/1998) 14:385.

¹⁷² al-Bukhārī (*Bad' al-khalq*: "Allah was when there was nothing else than Him, and His Throne was upon the water, and He wrote in the Reminder (*al-dhiḥr*) all things, and He created the heavens and the earth."

¹⁷³ al-Tirmidhī (*Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān, mā jā' fī Sūrat Āl 'Imrān*) in which he mentions Sufyān b. 'Uyayna's explanation that this is because the Gar-

- Being created here applies to the Garden, the Fire, heaven and earth. It does not apply to the Qurʾān.
- The narration of Khabbāb states: “I admonish you to approach Allah with all that you can; but you can never approach Him with something dearer to Him than His Speech.”¹⁷⁴
- And that is true.

When Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Mustamli asked him about the undisputed hadith master ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī—one of al-Bukhārī’s teachers: “Did he [‘Abd al-Razzāq] possess *fiqh*?” Aḥmad replied: “How rare is *fiqh* among those who know hadith!” Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusayn al-Rāzī (d. 304/ca.917) said: “I came to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in the early days of al-Mutawakkil’s rule and said, ‘Narrate a hadith to me by which I shall remember you and invoke mercy upon you.’ He said: ‘Marwān al-Fazārī narrated to us, from Hilāl Abū al-Muʿallā, from Anas: Three birds were offered to the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—and he gave his servant one of them to eat. The next day she brought it to him. He said: “Did I not forbid you to store up food? Truly, Allah Most High provides the sustenance of each morning.”’¹⁷⁵ Then Aḥmad said: ‘This is very suited for you, Sufī! Narrate it’ (*hādihā min bābatik yā sūfī, ḥaddith bih*)!”¹⁷⁶

Bishr b. al-Ḥārith: Abū Naṣr al-Khurāsānī al-Baghdādī, known as Bishr al-Ḥāfī (The Barefooted) (151-227/768-842), was a disciple of Fuḍayl b. ‘Iyād and teacher of al-Sarī al-Saqāṭī. He took hadith from Mālik, Ibn al-Mubārak,

den, the Fire, etc. are all created as opposed to the Qurʾān.

¹⁷⁴ al-Ḥākim, *Mustadrak* (2:441); al-Bayhaqī, *Asmāʾ* (1:587-588 §513-514).

¹⁷⁵ Aḥmad through a fair chain according to al-Haythamī (10:546 §18188 and 10:579 §18273).

¹⁷⁶ Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila* (1:418-419).

Ḥammād b. Zayd, Sharīk, Hushaym, and others. Al-Dāraqūṭnī called him *zāhid jabal thiqa*—an ascetic who is a mountain of knowledge and trustworthiness. Among his sayings: “If talking pleases you, keep silent; and if silence pleases you, then speak.” His grandfather was a Khurasani Zoroastrian named Bābūr. Ibn al-Jawzī relates from Zubda, Bishr’s sister:

One time Bishr entered my house late at night. He placed one of his feet inside the house and the other outside, and remained thus in reflection until dawn. Later I asked him: “What were you thinking about all night?” He said: “I was thinking of Bishr-the-Christian, Bishr-the-Jew, Bishr-the-Zoroastrian, and about my soul and about my name of Bishr (gladness), and I said to myself: ‘What have you done to merit that He single you out?’ And I kept thinking of His immense favor towards me, and thanking Him that He has made me one of His special servants and clothed me with the vestment of His beloved ones.”¹⁷⁷

He once met a drunkard on the road who began kissing him and shouting: *Yā sayyidī! Yā Abā Naṣr!* and Bishr did not push him away from him. When the drunkard left, Bishr’s eyes filled with tears and he said: “A man who loved another man because he imagined that there was some good in him—yet perhaps the lover is saved while the one who is loved is uncertain about his own fate.” Imam Aḥmad was in awe of Bishr and considered him one of the “Substitute-Saints” (*Abdāl*), only regretting that he did not complete the Sunna by marrying.¹⁷⁸

al-Fuḍayl b. ‘Iyād (d. 187/803): One of the famous early

¹⁷⁷ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat al-Ṣafwa*, sub Bishr b. al-Ḥārith.

¹⁷⁸ Ibn Abī Ya‘lā, *Ṭabaqāt* (1:263) and Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* (1:445).

ascetics and scholars who took hadith from Sufyān, a friend of Ibn al-Mubārak and teacher to major figures such as al-Shāfi‘ī, Ashhab (Mālik’s student) and Bishr al-Ḥāfi. He was among those reputed to eat and sleep so little that he used to pray the *fajr* prayer with the same ablution as his last ‘*ishā*’ prayer.¹⁷⁹ Al-Khaṭīb in his *Sharaf Aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīth* narrates from him that he called hadith scholars “The Inheritors of Prophets.” Al-Khallāl cites him once (§29).

al-Ḥasan: al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan Yasār Abū Sa‘īd al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), one of the major early Imams of jurisprudence, Hadith (he transmits over 1,400 narrations in the Nine Books alone), and Qur’ānic exegesis, considered by the Basrians to be the greatest of the *Tābi‘īn* and by the *Salaf* (such as Qatāda) to be one of the “Substitute-Saints” (*Abdāl*). He was the son of a freedwoman of Umm Salama the Mother of the Believers and a freedman of Zayd b. Thābit, the stepson of the Prophet—upon him and them blessings and peace. Umm Salama nursed him. His mother took him as a child to ‘Umar who supplicated for him with the words: “O Allāh! Make him wise in the Religion and beloved to people.” He became famous for his strict embodiment of the Sunna of the Prophet, knowledge, piety and simple living (*zuhd*), fearless remonstrances of the authorities, and power of attraction both in discourse and appearance. One of the early formal Sufis in both the general and the literal sense, he wore all his life a cloak of wool (*ṣūf*). He used to swear by Allah that the true believer could not feel other than sadness in this world¹⁸⁰ and was

¹⁷⁹ Mullā ‘Alī al-Qārī, *Sharḥ ‘Ayn al-‘Ilm* (2 vols. in 1, Cairo: al-Maṭba‘at al-‘Āmira, 1291/1874) 1:67-68.

¹⁸⁰ Narrated from Shumayt, ‘Abbād b. Hishām, Ḥazm b. Abī Ḥazm and others by Abū Nu‘aym (2:133).

the reason Ḥabīb al-‘Ajamī abandoned trading and entered the path of asceticism and perpetual worship.¹⁸¹ He defined the *faqīh* as “he who has renounced the world, longs for the hereafter, possesses insight in his Religion, and worships his Lord without cease” and he described *tahajjud* as “the hardest thing I have ever seen; it is the act of the Godwary (*al-muttaqīn*) and it is obligatory (*farḍ*) upon the Muslims, if only the time it takes to milk an ewe.”¹⁸² About the memorisers of Qur’ān in his time al-Ḥasan said:

The reciters of Qur’ān (*al-qurrā’*) are three types. The first take the Qur’ān as a merchandise by which to earn their bread; the second uphold its letters and lose its laws, aggrandising themselves over the people of their country and seeking gain through it from the rulers. There are many *qurrā’* that belong to that type. May Allah not increase them! Finally, the third type have sought the healing of the Qur’ān and applied it over their sick hearts, fleeing with it to their places of prayer, wrapping themselves in it. Those have felt fear and put on the garment of sadness. Those are the ones for whose sake Allah sends rain and victory over the enemies. By Allah! That kind of *qārī’* is rarer than red sulphur.¹⁸³

al-Ḥasan b. ‘Arafa al-‘Abdī al-Mu’addib (150-257/767-871) was the student of Ismā‘īl b. ‘Ayyāsh and Ibn al-Mubārak and centenarian teacher of al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Mājah, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and countless others. He authored the famous *Juz’ Ibn ‘Arafa* and said of himself: “Five generations (*khamsat*

¹⁸¹ Cf. chapter on Ḥabīb al-‘Ajamī in Ibn al-Mulaqqin, *Ṭabaqāt al-Awliyā’*.

¹⁸² Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ādāb al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī* (ed. Sulaymān al-Ḥarsh, Damascus: Dār al-Ṣiddiq, 1426/2005) p. 29-31.

¹⁸³ In al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān* (ed. Wahbī Sulaymān Ghāwji, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1411/1991) p. 60 §4.

qurūn) have narrated from me.”¹⁸⁴

Ḥudhayfa b. Qatāda al-Marʿashī al-Anṭākī (d. 207/822): A disciple of Sufyān and one of the ascetics who, like Abū Yūsuf al-Ghasūlī, Sulaymān al-Khawwāṣ and others, never ate anything unless absolutely certain of its licitness. Among his sayings: “Whoever loves voluntary worship (*nawāfil*) more than to leave this world, I am not sure he will not be bankrupt.” “None has ever been afflicted by worse a thing than a hard heart.” “For me to avoid a single sin is dearer than to go on pilgrimage.” “Let your work be for Allah; love for others what you love for yourself; and scrutinise the provenance of your piece of bread: do these three things and you will have a share in every blessing that comes down from heaven.”¹⁸⁵

Ibn Aslam: Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aslam b. Sālim b. Yazīd al-Ṭūsī al-Kindī, *mawlāhum* (d. 242/856), author of a *Musnad* and of the famous *Arbaʿūn al-Ṭūsiyya* and one of the major Sufis, student to al-Naḍr b. Shumayl and teacher to Ibn Khuzayma among many others, “He resembled nothing less than the Companions of the Prophet, upon him blessings and peace” (Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ); “the *Rabbānī* of this *Umma*, the like of whom my eye never saw” (Ibn Khuzayma); “the *Sawād al-Aʿzam*, stauncher a Sunni I never heard of in fifty years” (Ishāq b. Rāhūyah); “one of the trustworthy hadith masters and *abdāl* among the *awliyāʾ*”, he resembled Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal” (al-Dhahabī). His funeral was witnessed by a million people.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ al-Dhahabī, *Kāshif* (1:327 §1042) and Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (2:293-294 §523).

¹⁸⁵ Abū Nuʿaym (8:268-270).

¹⁸⁶ al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz* (*sub* Muḥammad b. Aslam b. Sālim).

Ibn Mahdī: Abū Sa‘īd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī b. Ḥassān al-‘Anbarī al-Baṣrī (135-198/753-814), one of the major early Imams of hadith, Sufyān al-Thawrī’s devoted student, ‘Alī b. al-Madīnī’s teacher and a Mālikī according to the latter. Al-Shāfi‘ī said: “I do not know his peer in the entire world” and authored the *Risāla* on the principles of jurisprudence upon his request. He took hadith from Mālik, the two Sufyāns, the two Ḥammāds (b. Zayd and b. Salama), Shu‘ba, al-Mājishūn, and Sharīk. From him narrated Ibn Wahb, Aḥmad, Ibn Ma‘īn, Ibn al-Madīnī, Ibn Sallām, Ibn Abī Shayba, and others. Whenever he read out Hadith, he would order his students to be silent and recite *O you who believe! Lift not up your voices above the voice of the Prophet* (Sūrat al-Ḥujurāt 49:2). Asked how he could tell the authentic hadith from the inauthentic he replied: “As the physician knows the madman.” Challenged about his dismissal of a man’s narration he replied: “Do you see the man who brings a coin to the jeweller, asking him to examine a certain coin? If the jeweller says to him, ‘It is counterfeit’ and he challenges his opinion the jeweller will reply: ‘Stick to my job for twenty years as I have done so that you will know what I know.’” Another time he said: “Knowledge of hadith is inspiration (*ilhām*).”

Certain partisans of the Madinan School incorrectly cite Ibn Mahdī as saying, “The Sunna of the people of Madina is more excellent than hadith.” The correct form of this statement is: “Some of the Sunna of the people of Madina is better than the hadith”—meaning, said Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, better than the hadith we have with us in Iraq.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁷ al-Khaṭīb, *Jāmi‘* (2:382-383 §§1835, 1837-1838); Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dibāj al-Mudhahhab fī Ma‘rifat ‘Ulamā’ al-Madhab* (ed. Ma‘mūn b. Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Jannān, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1996) p. 238; Ibn ‘Abd

Ibn Muḥayrīz: ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥayrīz (d. 99/718) was a major Imam of the *Tābi‘īn* in law and hadith in Makka.

Ibn Nūḥ: Muḥammad b. Nūḥ b. Maymūn al-‘Ijlī (d. 218/833), one of the *Ahl al-Sunna* scholars who were persecuted from the start of the Abbasid-Mu‘tazilite Inquisition (*al-mihna*) and never yielded. He lived in Baghdad next door to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal who praised him as trustworthy and recommended for others to take Hadith from him although he narrated very few hadiths, among them one which he alone transmits, from Ibn ‘Umar, that the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—said: “There is no *Umma* except some of it is in Paradise and some of it in Hellfire, except my *Umma*: truly it is [all] in Paradise.” al-Ma’mūn had him and Imam Aḥmad arrested together with instructions they be brought to the imperial Abbasid capital of al-Raqqā in present-day Syria. Aḥmad related:

I never saw stauncher in upholding what Allah commands than Muḥammad b. Nūḥ despite his young age and humble knowledge. I believe that Allah did in fact give him an excellent end. He told me one day when we were alone: “Abū ‘Abd Allāh—Allah, Allah!—you are not like me; you are a man who is a guide to others. The masses are stretching their necks to see what you will do next. So fear Allah and be firm on what He commands!” I was astonished at him, how he was encouraging me to be strong and admonishing me—and see how he was granted to die! He endured like this and fell ill then somewhere along the way—in ‘Āna—he died. I prayed over him and buried him.¹⁸⁸

al-Barr, *al-Tamhīd li-mā fil-Muwatta’ min al-Ma‘ānī wal-Asānīd* (ed. Mūṣṭafā b. Aḥmad al-‘Alawī and Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Kabīr al-Bakrī, 26 vols., Rabat: al-Maṭba‘at al-Malakīyya, 1387/1967) 1:79-81.

¹⁸⁸ Narrated from Ḥanbal b. Ishāq b. Ḥanbal (Aḥmad’s cousin) cf. al-

Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd al-Nakha‘ī al-Kūfī, Abū ‘Imrān (d. 96/715): One of the major Imams of the junior *Tābi‘īn*, famed for his piety and scrupulosity. He saw ‘Ā’isha and narrated from the senior *Tābi‘īn* such as his maternal uncle al-Aswad b. Yazīd (d. 74/693) and ‘Alqama.¹⁸⁹

Ibrāhīm b. Ad’ham (d. 161 or 162/779): One of the Arab ascetics from the nobility of the Banū ‘Ijl. He harvested fields for hire, singing poetry such as *Take Allah for a friend / and leave aside mankind*. When he finished harvesting he would send one of his companions to collect their pay and would not touch the dirhams by hand but gift his share to his friends saying: “Go and eat with it what you like.” If he did not harvest he would guard orchards and fields for hire. He fasted every day whether travelling or at home and did not sleep at night but sat and meditated. He grounded grain with his bare hand. Yaḥyā b. Yamān said that whenever Sufyān sat with Ibrāhīm b. Ad’ham he would refrain from speech. He was extremely generous. Sahl b. Ibrāhīm related: “I accompanied Ibrāhīm b. Ad’ham on a trip. He spend his reserves on me then I fell ill. I was missing a certain food so he sold his donkey and got it for me. I said: ‘What are we going to ride on?’ He said: ‘On my neck.’ Then he carried me for three travel stops.” He was a person of many miracles (*karāmāt*) and was seen once eating dates from an oak-tree. Another time a shipwreck was averted after his *du‘ā*. Among his sayings: “Every king that is unjust is on a par with thieves; every scholar that is not Godwary is on a par with wolves; and anyone that serves other than Allah is on a par with dogs.”¹⁹⁰

Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* (3:322-323). Anah is an Iraqi town between Haditha and the Syrian border.

¹⁸⁹ al-Dhahabī, *Kāshif* (1:227 §221).

¹⁹⁰ al-Dhahabī, (ed. ‘Umar Tadmūrī, 53 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-

‘Ikrima (d. 106/725): Mawlā Ibn ‘Abbās, one of the major exegetes of the *Tābi‘īn*, he narrated from Ibn ‘Abbās and Abū Hurayra, and from him Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī among countless others. He was “very trustworthy except he was an Ibadi who validated armed rebellion... Mālik avoided [narrating from] him” (al-Dhahabī).¹⁹¹

Ka‘b al-Aḥbār b. Māti‘ al-Ḥimyarī, Abū Ishāq (68BH-34/556-655): He was an erudite Yemeni Jew who converted to Islam after the death of the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—and came to Madina in ‘Umar’s caliphate then moved to Syro-Palestine and died in Ḥimṣ. He is trustworthy in hadith and is one of the *Tābi‘īn* from whom major Companions and Successors related reports such as Abū Hurayra, Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr and Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab among many others. His narrations are in the Four *Sunan*. He died aged over 100 in the caliphate of ‘Uthmān.¹⁹²

Ma‘mar b. Rāshid al-Ṣan‘ānī (d. 153/770): the major pious hadith master and author of a *Jāmi‘* in hadith, he was the principal teacher of ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan‘ānī among many others.

al-Ma’mūn was the Abbasid Abū Ja‘far ‘Abd Allāh al-Ma’mūn b. Hārūn (170-218/786-833), son of Hārūn al-Rashīd, who succeeded his brother al-Amīn and ruled for two decades from 197/813 until his death. Just a few months before his death he initiated the Islamic Inquisition (*al-mihna*) against mainstream orthodoxy in promo-

‘Arabī, 1418/1998) 10:50-55 cf. Abū Nu‘aym (7:368-end and 8:1-58).

¹⁹¹ *Kāshif* (2:33 §3867).

¹⁹² Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* (8:438-440 §793).

tion of Mu‘tazilism and the non-Sunni tenets of the created nature of the Qur’ān and the non-vision of Allah by the believers in the hereafter.

Mujāhid b. Jabr, Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Makhzūmī (d. 102), one of the major commentators of the Qur’ān among the *Tābi‘īn* and of the highest rank in reliability among hadith narrators (*thiqa*). Ibn Sa‘d in his *Tabaqāt* and others narrate that he went over the explanation of the Holy Qur’ān together with his teacher Ibn ‘Abbās thirty times. Al-A‘mash said: “Mujāhid was like someone who carried a treasure—whenever he spoke, pearls came out of his mouth.” Among his famous sayings: “There is no creature of Allah except you can take or leave what they said except the Prophet.”¹⁹³

al-Mu‘taṣim was the Abbasid caliph Abū Ishāq ‘Abbas al-Mu‘taṣim b. Hārūn (178-227/794-842), a son of Hārūn al-Rashīd, who succeeded his half-brother al-Ma‘mūn as caliph and ruled for nine years (218-227/833-842). At first he continued his predecessors’ support for Mu‘tazilism, and repression of dissenters but he then ended the repression and freed Aḥmad and others from jail.

Qatāda b. Di‘āma, Abū al-Khaṭṭāb al-Sadūsī (61-118/681-736): One of the well-established trustworthy hadith masters and a major Imam of *tafsīr* among the *Tābi‘īn*. He was blind and heard from Anas and ‘Abd Allāh b. Sarjis, and from him Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī, Shu‘ba and Abū ‘Awāna among many others.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ Abū Nu‘aym (3:280); Dhahabī, *Siyar* and Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat al-Ṣafwa* (both of them *sub* Mujāhid).

¹⁹⁴ al-Dhahabī, *Kāshif* (2:134 §4551).

Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, Abū Muḥammad and Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Wābilī *maṣūlāhum* (46-95/666-714): Ibn ‘Abbās’s close student and one of the major Imams of the *Tābi‘īn* in *tafsīr* and *fiqh*, he also studied with ‘Abd Allāh b. Mughaffal. From him narrated al-A‘mash and countless others. He died a *shahīd*. He was of Abyssinian origin.¹⁹⁵

Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab b. Ḥazn, Abū Muḥammad (14-94/635-713): The son and grandson of the Companions al-Musayyab and his father Ḥazn b. Abī Wahb al-Qurashī al-Makhzūmī, greatest of the *Tābi‘īn* narrators of hadith, and one of the “Seven Jurists of Madina” whose agreement Mālik deemed a Consensus binding on the entire *Umma*.¹⁹⁶ His *mursal* (missing the Companion-link) reports are considered the most authentic of their type.

Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal, Abū al-Faḍl (203-265/ 819-879): Aḥmad’s eldest son and ‘Abd Allāh’s half-brother, a Ḥanbalī jurist and hadith master. He narrated from his father, Ibn al-Madīnī and others, and from him al-Baghawī, Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and others. He chronicled Imam Aḥmad’s Ordeal (*mihna*) at the hands of the Mu‘tazilī state.¹⁹⁷ At his appointment ceremony as

¹⁹⁵ al-Dhahabī, *Kāshif* (1:433 §1860).

¹⁹⁶ These seven are: Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab, al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr, Khārija b. Zayd, Abū Salama b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Utba and Sulaymān b. Yāsār. Ibn al-Mubārak names Ṣālim b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar instead of Abū Salama while Abū al-Zinād mentions Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith instead of either. Some name Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b. Ḥazn. See al-Nawawī, *al-Taqrīb li-Sunan al-Bashīr al-Nadhīr* (‘Ilmiyya ed. p. 98) and Ibn al-Subkī in the 1992 ed. of his *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi‘iyya al-Kubrā* (5:147).

¹⁹⁷ Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Sīrat al-Imām Aḥmad* (ed. Muḥammad al-Zughlī, Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1997).

head judge of Ispahan in its great mosque he wept and said: “I weep because I thought of my father seeing me in such a state—covered in riches.” Later he said: “Whenever a self-denier or ascetic (*zāhid aw mutaqashshif*) visited him he would send for me so I could look at him. He loved for me to become like that. But Allah knows I did not enter into this worldly affair except due to overwhelming debt and many dependants.”¹⁹⁸ Al-Khallāl does not narrate directly from him but through at least one intermediary (cf. §§12, 111).

al-Sarī b. Yahyā al-Shaybānī al-Baṣrī (d. 167/784) is a trustworthy hadith scholar who narrated from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and ‘Amr b. Dīnār. The major hadith masters ‘Abd Allāh b. Wahb and Imam Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj narrated from him.¹⁹⁹

al-Sha‘bī: ‘Āmir b. Sharāḥīl Abū ‘Amr al-Sha‘bī (d. 103 or 104/ ca.722), one of the major Imams of the junior *Tābi‘īn* in hadith narration as well as *fiqh*, he was compared to Ibn ‘Abbās in his time. Makhṭūl said: “I never saw more judicious than al-Sha‘bī.” Born in the time of ‘Umar, he narrated from ‘Alī, Abū Hurayra and al-Mughīra among many others and had countless students. He said he was able to meet 500 Companions and that he had a photographic memory.²⁰⁰

Sharīk b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Nakha‘ī Abū ‘Abd Allāh (95-177/ 714-793) the Qadi of Kufa and major hadith master, he narrated from Salama b. Kuhayl, and from him Ibn Abī

¹⁹⁸ al-Dhahabī, *Sīyar* (12:529-530).

¹⁹⁹ al-Dhahabī, *Kāshif* (1:427 §1814).

²⁰⁰ al-Dhahabī, *Kāshif* (1:522 §2531).

Shayba among others. His narrations are in the *Sunan*.²⁰¹

Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj, Abū Bisṭām al-‘Atakī al-Baṣrī (d. 160/776): One of the 30 or so “Commanders of the Believers in Hadith.” He narrated from Qatāda and others. About 2,000 reports revolve around him in the Six Books.²⁰²

Sufyān: Abū ‘Abd Allāh Sufyān b. Sa‘īd b. Masrūq al-Thawrī al-Muḍarī al-Kūfī (97-161/716-778), the Godfearing, wise, ascetic, grief-stricken Imam, “Commander of the Believers in Hadith”—the highest level in hadith mastery—with a photographic memory, “Shaykh al-Islām and leader of the practicing Ulema in his time” (al-Dhahabī). He spoke precious words on money matters. He was once asked a question while he was buying something. He replied: “Leave me alone, my heart is with my dirham right now.” He said: “I would much prefer to leave behind 10,000 dirhams over which Allah takes account of me rather than stand in need of people.” He also said: “In the past, money was disliked; but today it is the shield of the believer.” To a man who told him: “Abū ‘Abd Allah! You hold dinars in your hand?” He replied: “Be quiet! Were it not for them, the kings would use us to wipe themselves (*la-tamandala binā al-mulūk*)!” He also said: “The ‘ālim is the cure in the Religion and money its disease. If the ‘ālim drags the disease to himself, when can he heal others?”

Qabīsa b. ‘Uqba said that no-one sat with Sufyān except they remembered death. Yūsuf b. Asbāḥ²⁰³ narrates that he once handed Sufyān the ablution-pot in the evening and left him holding it pensively. When he saw him again at

²⁰¹ al-Dhahabī, *Kāshif* (1:485 §2276).

²⁰² al-Dhahabī, *Kāshif* (1:485 §2278).

²⁰³ Or Asbaḥ. One of the ascetics. See on him Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh* (7:129).

dawn, he had not moved from his spot. He said: "I am still thinking about the next life." He would reach states of anxiety about the Day of Judgment in which he urinated blood. He said: "I may see something against which I ought to speak out but I do not, then I urinate blood." He also said: "I felt the fear of Allah to a point I wondered how I could still be alive, then I would say to myself: I have a fixed term of life, but I wish it were made lighter for me. My fear [of Allah] is such that I fear losing my mind." Another time he said: "I ask Allah to take away some of my fear of Him." Ibn Mahdī said: "Night after night I would catch sight of Sufyān sitting up and calling out: 'The Fire! The Fire! I cannot sleep nor feel pleasure anymore because I think of the Fire.'" Abū Nu'aym said that Sufyān would be "useless for days" whenever this state overtook him.

Sufyān's garb was coarse and ragged and he ate dried meat and eggs. He said to Mu'ammal: "I do not tell you not to eat good things. Dress well and eat good things."

Ibn Mahdī once said: "I could not look at Sufyān directly, he was too intimidating and full of majesty." When he took care of Sufyān in his last illness he asked him about the permissibility of leaving the congregational prayer to that end. Sufyān said: "Serving a Muslim in need for one hour is better than congregational prayer." Ibn Mahdī said: "From whom did you hear this?" Sufyān replied: "'Āṣim b. 'Ubayd Allāh narrated to me from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir b. Rabī'a, from his father [the Companion 'Āmir b. Rabī'a al-'Anzī]: 'I would prefer serving one man among the Muslims who is in need for a single day to 60 years of congregational prayers in which I never missed the opening *takbīra*.'"²⁰⁴

²⁰⁴ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Manāqib al-Imām al-A'zam Sufyān b. Sa'īd al-Thawrī* (Taṭā: Dār al-Ṣaḥāba, 1413/1993); al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkira* (1:204).

Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna, Abū Muḥammad al-Hilālī, *mawlāhum*, al-Kūfī al-A‘war (d. 198/814): One of the major, trustworthy early Imams and masters of hadith, he narrated from al-Zuhrī, ‘Amr b. Dīnār, al-A‘mash and Ibn Jurayj; and from him al-Shāfi‘ī, Aḥmad, Ibn al-Madīnī, and al-Za‘farānī. Al-Khallāl related from Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī, from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal: I heard Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna say: “Your thought about tomorrow’s sustenance is recorded against you as a sin.”²⁰⁵

Sulaymān al-Khawwās: A companion of Ibrāhīm b. Ad’ham and one of the extreme ascetics who practised scavenging (*liqāt*)²⁰⁶ and was intensely scrupulous about the licitness of anything he ate. Sa‘īd b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz went in to see him one day and said:

- Why are you sitting in the dark?
- The darkness of the grave is much worse.
- Why alone?
- A companion has rights and I fear lest I violate them.
- Take this purse and spend from it; I swear before Allah it is licit.
- I have no need of it.
- Allah have mercy on you. Do you not see the state of people? Make *du‘ā*’!
- [Shouting] What is wrong with you, Sa‘īd? First you entice me with *dunyā* then you entice me with religion? What is my *du‘ā*’ and who am I!

Sa‘īd left and recounted everything to al-Awzā‘ī who said: “Leave Sulaymān alone. He could be one of the Companions and he would still be a model of piety.”²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (14:297-298 §193).

²⁰⁶ See §26.

²⁰⁷ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣiḡat al-Ṣafwa*, sub Ibrāhīm al-Khawwās.

Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Yamānī (d. 106/724), the *Ṭābi‘ī* Imam of canonical readings and jurisprudence. He hailed from Persia and was named Dhakwān but was nicknamed “Peacock” (*ṭāwūs*) in reference to his leadership in *qirā’a*. He narrated from ‘Ā’isha, Ibn ‘Abbās, and Abū Hurayra. From him narrated al-Zuhrī and others. ‘Amr b. Dīnār said: “I never saw anyone like him.” He died in Makka.²⁰⁸

‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr, Abū ‘Abd Allāh (d. 93 or 94/713): One of the major, abundant hadith narrators and jurists of the *Ṭābi‘īn* and a most meticulous, trustworthy scholar who narrated from his parents, his maternal aunt Zaynab bint al-‘Awwām al-Asadiyya, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and many others. From him narrated his children ‘Uthmān, Hishām, ‘Abd Allāh, Yaḥyā, and Muḥammad; al-Zuhrī; and others. His son Hishām said: “My father fasted all year all his life and he died fasting.”²⁰⁹

Wakī‘ b. al-Jarrāḥ Abū Sufyān al-Ru‘asī (128-197/746-812): One of the major Imams of hadith, teacher to al-Shāfi‘ī, Aḥmad who said he never saw anyone stronger in memorisation, al-Qāsim b. Sallām, Ibn Abī Shayba and Ishāq b. Rāhūyah, and a student of al-A‘mash, Hishām b. ‘Urwa, and the two most senior students of Imam Abū Ḥanīfa, Abū Yūsuf and especially Zufar b. al-Hudhayl. al-Khallāl narrates from him through a single intermediary, which is quite a “high” (i.e. short-chained and/or prestigious) transmission for him.²¹⁰ Wakī‘ compiled a *Muṣannaf*

²⁰⁸ al-Dhahabī, *Kāshif* (1:512-513 §2461).

²⁰⁹ al-Dhahabī, *Kāshif* (2:18 §3775).

²¹⁰ Once through Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Mahdī (§40) who is unknown, and otherwise through Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Samura al-

that was studied by al-Bukhārī among others. The latter said: “I learned the books of Ibn al-Mubārak and Wakīʿ and knew their sayings by heart at age sixteen.” Wakīʿ preferred long-chained narrations through jurists (*fuqahāʾ*) to short-chained ones through non-*fuqahāʾ* and said: “The hadith current among the jurists is better than the one current among hadith scholars.”²¹¹ This is a foundational rule in the Ḥanafī school which, like Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān, Wakīʿ followed.²¹² Al-Shāfiʿī—who, like Wakīʿ, fasted every day of the year—declaimed:

*I complained to Wakīʿ of my poor memory.
He told me to quit sins once and for all.
He told me knowledge is a light:
His light Allah grants not to those who sin.*²¹³

Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd: Abū Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān al-Baṣrī (120-198/738-814), the teacher of ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and one of the major early Imams of hadith who is counted among the handful of “Commanders of the Believers in Hadith” according to al-Dhahabī. Despite his rank in hadith and narrator-commendation and discreditation (*al-jarḥ wal-taʿdīl*) he would not venture to extract legal rulings from the evidence but followed in this Abū Ḥanīfa’s *fiqh* as he explicitly declared: “We do not belie Allāh. We never heard better than the juridical opinion (*raʾy*) of Abū Ḥanīfa and we follow most of his positions.”²¹⁴

Aḥmasī (d. 260?/874) (§52ff.), a principal source of both al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Abī Ḥātim in their *Tafsīrs*.

²¹¹ al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (9:158, 12:328-329).

²¹² al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkira* (1:307) and Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* (11:126-127).

²¹³ al-Shāfiʿī, *Dīwān*.

²¹⁴ al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkira* (1:307) and Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* (10:450).

Al-Nawawī relates on the authority of Ishāq al-Shāhidī:

I would see Yahyā al-Qaṭṭān—may Allāh the Exalted have mercy on him!—pray the midafternoon prayer then sit with his back against the base of the minaret of his mosque. Then ‘Alī b. al-Madīnī, al-Shādhakūnī, ‘Amr b. ‘Alī, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Yahyā b. Ma‘īn and others would stand before him on their feet and question him about hadith until it was time for the sunset prayer. He would not say to a single one of them to sit nor would they sit, out of awe and reverence.²¹⁵

When a certain man began to question him about a specific wording inside a hadith Yahyā said to him: “*Yā Fulān!* There is not in the whole world anything more sublime than the Book of Allah, yet He has permitted that its words be recited in seven different dialects. So do not be so strict!”²¹⁶ Al-Khaṭīb mentions many early authorities as allowing the narration of Prophetic Hadith other than in its precise original wording and he narrates examples from Ibn Mas‘ūd, Abū al-Dardā’ and Anas to that effect. He also narrates from Waki‘ and Mālik the prohibition of narrating Prophetic hadiths other than in their precise original wording.²¹⁷

²¹⁵ al-Nawawī, *al-Tarkhīb fil-Ikrām bil-Qiyām li-Dhawī al-Faḍl wal-Maẓiyya min Ahl al-Islām ‘alā Jihāt al-Birr wal-Tawqīr wal-Ihtirām lā ‘alā Jihāt al-Riyā’ wal-I‘ẓām* (The Permissibility of Dignifying, by Standing up, Those Who Possess Excellence and Distinction Among the People of Islam: In the Spirit of Piousness, Reverence and Respect, Not in the Spirit of Display and Aggrandisement) (ed. Kilānī Muḥammad Khalīfa, Beirut: Dār al-Bashā’ir al-Islāmiyya, 1988) p. 58.

²¹⁶ Cf. al-Shāfi‘ī, *Risāla* (ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākīr, Cairo: Maktabat wa-Maṭba‘at al-Ḥalabī, 1359/1940, rept. Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, n.d.) p. 274 §753.

²¹⁷ al-Khaṭīb, *Jāmi‘* (2:24-28 §1108-1117).

GLOSSARY OF TECHNICAL TERMS

Abdāl, sing. *badal* = “Substitute-saints,” high-ranked *awliyā*³

akhbarānī/ā fulān = X reported to me/us

‘arḍ = presentation, a reading of hadith before a shaykh

anba’ānī/ā fulān = X informed me/us

*du‘ā*³ = supplication, prayer

dunyā = (of) the material world

farḍ = categorical obligation

fiqh = lit. thorough understanding; sacred law

*ghinā, istighnā*³ = wealth, sufficiency, independence

ḥaddathānī/ā fulān = X narrated to me/us

ḥalāl = licit (income or sustenance), as opposed to *ḥarām*

ḥarām = illicit (income or sustenance), as opposed to *ḥalāl*

ijāzatan = through a license of transmission

iṣlāḥ = maintenance and improvement of one’s property

Jāhiliyya = “Great Ignorance,” the pre-Islamic period

jihad = struggle for the sake of Allah, esp. military

māl = property, holdings, wealth, money

mursal = a hadith or chain missing the Companion-link

qara’tu/qara’nā ‘alā = I/we read before X

rizq = sustenance such as income and/or food

Salaf = the pious predecessors, esp. the first three centuries

sami’tu/sami’nā fulānan yaqul = I/we heard X say

shahīd = a Muslim martyr

Shaykh al-Islām = an honorific title given to some scholars

ṣiyām = fasting

Tābi‘ī, pl. *Tābi‘ūn/in* = “Successors” of the Companions

tahajjud = a sunna of voluntary vigil prayer

takbīra = the litany *Allāhu akbar* inside or outside prayer

Umma = Nation; Community of the Prophet Muḥammad

‘uzla = isolation, seclusion

*wara’*³ = scrupulous Godwariness; precautionary avoidance

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān b. al-Ash‘ath al-Sijistānī. *Sunan*. Ed. Muḥammad ‘Awwāma. 5 vols. 2nd ed. Jeddah: Dār al-Qibla lil-Thaqāfat al-Islāmiyya; Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Rayyān, 1425/2004.
- Abū Nu‘aym al-Aṣbahānī, Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad. *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā’ wa-Ṭabaqāt al-Aṣfiyā’*. 10 vols. Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Sa‘āda, 1399/1979. Rept. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1409/1988.
- Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal al-Shaybānī al-Baghdādī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh. *Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*. With ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Muttaqī al-Hindī’s *Muntakhab Kanz al-‘Ummāl fī Sunan al-Aqwāl wal-Af‘āl* in the margins. Ed. Aḥmad al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī. 6 vols. Miṣr (Cairo): al-Maṭba‘at al-Maymaniyya, 1313/1895.
- . *al-Zuhd*. 2nd ed. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1414/1994.
- al-Bayhaqī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn. *al-Asmā’ wal-Ṣiḡāt*. Ed. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥāshidī. 2 vols. Riyadh: Maktabat al-Sawādī, 1413/1993.
- al-Bukhārī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mughīra al-Ju‘fī. *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ: wa-Huwa al-Jāmi‘ al-Musnad al-Ṣaḥīḥ al-Mukhtaṣar min Umūr Rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayh wa-sallam wa-Sunanih wa-Ayyāmih*. Ed. Muḥammad al-Zuhrī al-Ghamrāwī. 8 vols. in 3. 2nd ed. Būlāq: al-Maṭba‘at al-Kubrā al-Amīriyya, 1314/1896. Rept. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘at al-Maymūniyya [Muṣṭafā Bābā al-Ḥalabī et al.], 1323/1905.
- al-Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Uthmān. *al-Kāshif fī Ma‘rifat man lahu Riwāya fīl-Kutub al-Sitta*. With Burhān al-Dīn Abū al-Wafā’ Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī’s *Ḥāshiya*. Ed. Muḥammad ‘Awwāma and Aḥmad Muḥammad Nimr al-Khaṭīb. 2 vols. Jeddah: Dār al-Qibla lil-Thaqāfat al-Islāmiyya and Mu’assasat ‘Ulūm al-Qur’ān, 1413/1992.
- . *Siyar A‘lām al-Nubalā’*. Ed. Shu‘ayb al-Arnā‘ūṭ et al. 25 vols. 3rd ed. Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Risāla, 1405-1409/1985-1988.
- . *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*. Ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥyā al-Mu‘allimī, 4 vols. in 2. 3rd ed. Hyderabad: Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1376-77/1956-58.

- Haddad, Gibril Fouad. *The Excellence of Syro-Palestine—al-Shām—and Its People: Forty Hadiths*. Damascus: Maktabat al-Aḥbāb, 1422/2002.
- . *Sunna Notes: Studies in Hadith & Doctrine I: Hadith History and Principles*. Birmingham, UK: AQSA Publications; Hellenthal, Germany: Warda Publications, 2005.
- al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Bayyī’. *al-Mustadrak ‘alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* with Dhahabī’s *Talkhīṣ al-Mustadrak*. 5 vols. Indices Yūsuf ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mar‘ashlī. Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘rifa, 1986. Rept. of 1334/1916 Hyderabad ed.
- al-Ḥārīrī, Nasība Muḥammad Fathī and Muḥammad Fathī. *al-Maqāyīs wal-Maqādir ‘inda al-‘Arab*. Cairo and Dubai: Dār al-Faḍīla, 2002.
- al-Haythamī, Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Abī Bakr. *Majma‘ al-Zawā‘id wa-Manba‘ al-Fawā‘id*. 10 vols. Cairo: Dār al-Rayyān lil-Turāth, 1407/1987.
- Ibn Abī al-Dunyā al-Qurashī, Abū Bakr ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd. *Iṣlāḥ al-Māl*. Ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir ‘Aṭā. Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyya, 1414/1993.
- Ibn Abī Ya‘lā, Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Farrā’. *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila*. Ed. Muḥammad Ḥamid al-Fiqqī. 2 vols. Cairo: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Kutub al-‘Arabiyya, n.d.
- Ibn ‘Asākir, Abū al-Qāsim ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh. *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*. Ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū Sa‘īd ‘Umar b. Gharāma al-‘Amrawī. 80 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1415-1421/1995-2001.
- Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad b. ‘Alī. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*. 14 vols. Hyderabad: Dā’irat al-Ma‘ārif al-Nizāmiyya, 1327/1909.
- Ibn Ḥanbal, see Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal.
- Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad b. Ḥibbān. *Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Ḥibbān bi-Tartīb Ibn Balbān*. Ed. Shu‘ayb al-Arnā‘ūṭ. 2nd ed. 18 vols. Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Risāla, 1414/ 1993.
- Ibn al-Jawzī, Abū al-Faraj ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Alī. *Kitāb Talbīs Iblīs*. Ed. Aḥmad b. ‘Uthmān al-Mazīd. 3 vols. Riyadh: Dār al-Waṭan lil-Nashr, 1432/2002.
- . *Manāqib al-Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*. Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1349/1930.

- . *Ṣifat al-Ṣafwa*. Ed. Ibrāhīm Ramaḍān, Saʿīd al-Laḥḥām. 4 vols. in 2. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1409/1989.
- Ibn Mājah, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yazīd. *Sunan Ibnī Mājah bi-Sharḥ al-Imām Abī al-Ḥasan al-Ḥanaḥī al-Maʿrūf bil-Sindī*. Ed. Khalīl Maʾmūn Shīḥā. 5 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifa, 1416/1996.
- Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Zurʿī. *Uddat al-Ṣābirīn wa-Dhakhīrat al-Shākirīn*. Ed. Ismāʿīl b. Ghāzī Marḥabā. Makka: Dār ʿĀlam al-Fawāʾid, 1429/2008.
- Ibn al-Subkī, Tāj al-Dīn Abū Naṣr ʿAbd al-Waḥḥāb b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Kāfi. *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyyat al-Kubrā. Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-Kubrā*. Ed. Maḥmūd al-Ṭannāḥī and ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Ḥilw. 2nd. ed. Jīza: Dār Hajar, 1992.
- al-Khallāl, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn. *Kitāb al-Ḥathth ʿalā al-Tijāra wal-Ṣināʿa wal-ʿAmal wal-Inkārah ʿalā man Yaddaʿi al-Tawakkul fī Tark al-ʿAmal wal-Ḥujjatu ʿalayhim fī Dhālik*. Ed. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī. Damascus: Maktabat al-Qudsī, 1348/1929-1930.
- . *Kitāb al-Ḥathth* etc. Ed. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaddād. Riyadh: Dār al-ʿĀsima, 1407/1987.
- . *Kitāb al-Ḥathth* etc. Ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda. Aleppo: Maktab al-Maṭbūʿāt al-Islāmiyya; Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir al-Islāmiyya, 1415/1995.
- . *al-Sunna*. Ed. ʿAḥiyya al-Zahrānī. 7 vols. in 3. Riyadh: Dār al-Rāya, 1410/1989.
- al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdaḍī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Thābit. *al-Jāmiʿ li-Akhḫāq al-Rāwī wa-Adab al-Sāmiʿ*. Ed. Muḥammad ʿAjāj al-Khaṭīb. 2 vols. Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1991.
- . *Tārīkh Baghdād aw Madīnat al-Salām*. 14 vols. Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1931. Rept. 15 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, [1966?] and Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, n.d.
- Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj b. Muslim al-Qushayrī al-Naysābūrī, Abū al-Ḥusayn. *al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ. [al-Musnad al-Ṣaḥīḥ al-Mukhtaṣar min al-Sunan bi-Naql al-ʿAdl ʿan al-ʿAdl ilā Rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ʿalayh wa-sallam.]* 8 vols. [Istanbul]: al-Maṭbaʿat al-ʿĀmira, 1334/1916.
- al-Nasāʾī, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad b. Shuʿayb b. ʿAlī. *Sunan*

- al-Nasā'ī bi-Sharḥ al-Ḥāfiẓ Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī wa-Ḥāshiyat al-Imām al-Sindī*. 8 vols. [Cairo]: al-Maṭba'at al-Miṣriyya, 1348/1930. Repr. 8 vols. in 4. Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, n.d.
- al-Rawwās, Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Mahdī Āl Khizām al-Ṣayyādī. *Fadhlakat al-Ḥaqīqa fī Ahkām al-Ṭarīqa*. In *Kitāb al-Majmū'at al-Nādīra li-Abnā' al-Ākhira*. Pp. 133-195. Ed. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm b. Salīm 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ. 2nd ed. Damascus: Dār al-Bashā'ir, 1419/1998.
- al-Ṭabarānī, Abū al-Qāsim Sulaymān b. Aḥmad. *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*. Ed. Ḥamdī 'Abd al-Majīd al-Salāfi. 25 vols. 2nd ed. Baghdad: Wizārat al-Awqāf, 1984-1990. Rept. Cairo: Maktabat Ibn Taymiyya, n.d.
- al-Tirmidhī, Abū 'Īsā Muḥammad b. 'Īsā. *al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*. Ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir et al. 5 vols. 2nd ed. Cairo: Muṣṭafā Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1398/1978.
- Wright, William. *A Grammar of the Arabic Language: Translated from the German of [Carl P.] Caspari*. Rev. W. Robertson Smith and M.J. de Goeje. 3rd ed. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896-98. Rept. Pierre Cachia, ed. Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1996.

INDICES:

INDEX OF QUR'ĀNIC VERSES

INDEX OF HADITHS

INDEX OF OTHER SAYINGS

GENERAL INDEX

Index of Qur'ānic Verses

2:57	61
2:172	61
2:197	81, 82
2:255	104
2:267	62, 66, 69
4:29	69
7:160	61
8:3-4	3
13:16	104
13:28	12
19:71	88
20:81	61
21:2	104
38:1	104
39:23	12
46:25	104
49:2	110
62:9	86, 87, 90
62:10	58, 87

Index of Hadiths

Allah did not create a garden of Paradise nor a fire of Hell nor a heaven nor an earth more tremendous than the Verse of the Throne	104	something [to sell]	92
Allah was when there was nothing else	104	I marry you to this woman on the basis of whatever you have of the Qurʾān	86
Allah wrote the Reminder	104	I will no longer buy any- thing unless I have its price	67
Alms are nothing other than the ordures of people	89	If Resurrection rises while one of you is holding a seedling in his hand, let him plant it	72
ʿAmr! Get dressed, gird your weapon and come and see me	65	If you relied on Allah in the true sense of reliance, He would sustain you the way He sustains the birds	94
Begging is unlawful except in three cases	93	It is my wish for you that you come into wealth	65
best and purest earning is the work of a man's own hand and every lawful- and-blessed trade, The	61	It is enough of a sin for someone to let his dependants perish	14, 73-75
Buy an ax for a dirham and with the other dirham buy food	93	Messenger of Allah sent out troops among whom was a man named Ḥudayr	83
Dāwūd never ate other than from the work of his own hand	70	Prophet's purchase on credit	67
Did I not forbid you to store up food?	105	Prophet's sale by auction	92
For a man to carry a rope and bundle up firewood which he then sells in the market to be self- sufficient...	90-92	Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—has informed us that work is superior to begging	90
Go and see if you can find		There is no <i>Umma</i> except some of it is in Paradise and some of it in Hellfire, except my <i>Umma</i> : truly it is [all] in Paradise	111

- This is much better for you
than to come on the Day
of Resurrection with a
blot on your face caused
by begging 93
- Those words of his are a
light for him on the Day
of Resurrection 84
- Three birds were offered to
the Prophet—upon him
blessings and peace—and
he gave his servant one of
them to eat 105
- O Allāh! I am turning to
You with Your Prophet
100
- O Muḥammad! I am
turning with you to my
Lord for the fulfillment of
my need 100
- One who strives to support
the widow and the needy
is like one who struggles
in the path of Allah and
like one who rises to pray
at night and fasts in the
day 75
- Righteous wealth for a
righteous person is a
wonderful thing 3, 66
- Tie your camel first then
rely on Allah 16
- Truly Allah Most High
provides the sustenance
of each morning 105
- Truly this money is verdant
and sweet; whoever takes
it rightfully and puts it in
its rightful place, what a
wonderful helper it is! 66
- Truly your soul has rights
over you, your Lord has a
right over you, your guest
has a right over you 89
- truthful and trustworthy
merchant is with the
seven that are under the
Throne on the Day of
Resurrection, The 70
- Whoever has three children
who die before the age of
liability will not be
touched by the Fire 88
- Whoever supports and
raises two or three
daughters will have
Paradise 88
- Zakariyyā was a carpenter 71

Index of Other Sayings

(some of these sayings may have the status of a Prophetic hadith)

Abū Bakr was the most trade-proficient of all Quraysh until he became involved in governance	67	last avenue of income	64
Aḥmad bore with poverty for seventy years	13	Autonomy from people through own's own quest is much dearer to us than sitting and waiting for what people have to come to us	88
‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib used to work until his hand was callused	87	Buy and sell even without gain	58
‘ <i>alim</i> is the cure in the Religion and money is its disease, The	117	Carry provisions <i>and</i> rely on Allah	16, 78
All people without exception have to trust in Allah but they benefit themselves by earning a living	87	Companions of the Pro- phet—upon him blessings and peace—all used to work, The	87
Allah has devotees beyond Andalusia...	97	Do the deeds of heroes	11, 60
Allah is more generous than to lavish His bounty except He completes it	101	Do not be without a trade	57
Anyone that serves other than Allah is on a par with dogs	112	Do not go to Makka without provision and mount	76
Approach Allah with all that you can; but you can never approach Him with something dearer to Him than His Speech	105	Do not scorn a penny you acquire by obeying Allah	11, 57
Ask for the bounty of Allah and do not be depen- dants of the Muslims	56	Do not take risks	16, 76
Asking people is a man's		Doing-without is only in lawful things	102
		Dress well and eat good things	118
		Each must use wealth to seek the bounty of Allah. Therein lie true worship and faith	69
		Earn a dirham and pray alone	54
		Even a vast property is lost	

- when it goes to ruin 53
 Every king that is unjust is
 on a par with thieves 112
 Every scholar that is not
 Godwary is on a par with
 wolves 112
 [Extreme *tawakkul*] is
 permissible for whoever
 practises it truthfully 94
 Fear prevents me from
 eating and drinking 13
 Four thousand and less is
 for living expenses;
 whatever exceeds that
 amount is a treasure 72-73
 Frequent the marketplace
 and go into commerce 47
 Go alone into the desert!
 Otherwise you are
 someone who relies on
 people's knapsacks 79
 Go gently and spend
 frugally 59
 He is too strict on himself!
 95
 He says 'I will not work' but
 then he is brought
 something that was
 produced and earned by
 other people—why does
 he accept it? 87
 He who has renounced the
 world, longs for the
 hereafter, possesses
 insight in his Religion,
 and worships his Lord
 without cease 108
 Hearts grow soft by eating
 lawful food 12
 How rare is *fiqh* among
 those who know hadith!
 105
 I am well as long as no one
 else carries the burden of
 feeding me 57
 I ask Allah to take away
 some of my fear of Him
 118
 I cannot sleep nor feel
 pleasure anymore
 because I think of the
 Fire 118
 I complained to Wakī' of
 my poor memory 121
 I fear foolish
 mismanagement of
 livelihood for you 53
 I felt the fear of Allah to a
 point I wondered how I
 could still be alive 118
 I have been the
 jurisprudent (*faqīh*) of my
 food for 60 years 12, 59
 I love to be independent
 from your kind of people
 48
 I never saw any reasonable
 person among them 80
 I prefer to be buried near a
 Prophet than near my
 father 99
 I would prefer to earn a
 single *qīrāṭ* rather than
 have someone help me
 out with ten dirhams 60
 Idrīs was a taylor 71

If he earns more, he can spend it on his close family, or his house, or a guest 89	Money in our time is a weapon 55
If talking pleases you, keep silent; and if silence pleases you, then speak 106	My father fasted all year all his life and he died fasting 120
If you have wheat then turn to worship; if not then seek after it 56	My fear of Allah is such that I fear losing my mind 118
In the past, money was disliked; but today it is the shield of the believer 117	Never ask others 64
Invest in some holdings 64	Never before were assets/ resources so vital/bene- ficial as in our time 55
It is incumbent on a man to seek knowledge if he has his pittance 56	nexus of belief is reliance on Allah and the explanation of that reliance is that he be content with whatever He does with him, The 97
It is not part of your love for this world to pursue, out of it, what improves your situation 71	No food is more beloved to me than the food of a truthful merchant 63
Independence from people through work is dearer to me than begging 91	No one must quit work and sit in wait for what is in the hands of people 90
Keep a work schedule at the marketplace 59	Nothing is as precious to me as poverty 13
little property you maintain will endure, A 53	Nothing is as precious to me than patience in poverty 13
Luqmān was a taylor 71	Nothing is lost through repair but nothing remains if it gets ruined 53
man must scrutinise the provenance of his daily bread, A 11, 60	Nothing of what afflicts them in this world really harms them 101
man must take the trouble of making a living and not be in need of what others possess, A 90	O Allāh! Make him wise in the Religion and beloved to people 107
	O Allah, deprive me of

- abundant property and progeny 49
- O Allah, grant me mercy through them and do not deprive them because of me 101
- O Allah, keep away from me property and progeny 49
- One dirham from trade is dearer to me than ten from a donation 60
- One dirham from trade is more beloved to me than ten from a donation 61
- One must be watchful over one's income, sustenance, and residence 58
- One must scrutinise one's trade 58
- Pilgrims would travel from the four corners and support their passage by means of others 82
- Poverty is certainly the greatest death 66
- Qur'ān is the Speech of Allah and I fear less for my neck than for my shirt-button 103
- Reliance is fine but a man must not be dependent on others. He must work and make himself and his family independent 88
- Reliance is for someone to rely on Allah without there being any human being from whom he expects anything 93
- Reliance is the nexus of belief 96
- reliant one (*al-mutawakkil*) does not rely on Allah so he will be given sufficiency, The 96
- servant's reliance on his Lord is to know that Allah alone is his trust, The 96
- Serving a Muslim in need for one hour is better than congregational prayer 118
- Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shāghūrī would choose the spoiled apples of the marketplace for himself and leave the good ones for others 95
- Sulaymān plaited palm-leaves with his own hands and ate barley 71
- Tahajjud* is the hardest thing I have ever seen 108
- Take good care of whatever property Allah bestows on you 53
- There are two delicious foods: a man's load on his back and the work of his hand 60
- There is no creature of Allah except you can take or leave what they said except the Prophet 114
- There is no good in someone who does not

- gather wealth with which
he can repay his debt and
protect his reputation 65
- There is no goodness in
someone who does not
seek wealth by which to
repay his debt 64
- There is not in the whole
world anything more
sublime than the Book of
Allah, yet He has
permitted that its words
be recited in seven
different dialects 122
- They used to go on
pilgrimage without taking
along provisions, so a
dispensation was given to
them 81
- They would go on
pilgrimage, reach Makka,
and ask people for
handouts 82
- They would say: 'We trust.'
So they were commanded
to take along provisions
82
- Those are wicked people,
they want the paralysis
and ruin of the world! 89
- Those hearts, when they
start doubting, no
admonishment will
benefit them! 97
- Three types of travel have
been made obligatory for
you: *Hajj*, *Umra*, and
[commerce] 68
- Trade is one of the types of
sustenance granted by
Allah 69
- trader is better than the
idler, The 62
- True believer cannot feel
other than sadness in this
world 107
- Truly the purest thing a
man can eat is what he
eats from his own
earnings 15, 47
- Twelve dirhams a year are
enough for me 59
- Uways al-Qarani would pass
by garbage heaps and
collect rags 95
- We choose work! We seek
after our sustenance! We
do without begging! 91
- We take the bitter grapes
and leave the sweet ones
to guests 95
- Wealth is part of health 17,
49
- Were it not for money,
kings would use us to
wipe themselves 117
- What a fine thing reliance
on Allah Almighty is!
However, one must not sit
idle 91
- What are we going to ride
on? He said: On my neck
112
- What do you crave so that
we can prepare it for you?
48

- What have you done to
merit that He single you
out? 106
- When a man has something
he considers good and
pure let him use it as his
food and steer clear of
those filthy things 89
- When a man sits without
plying a trade, his ego
justifies for him taking
what is in the hands of
people 90
- When Allah grants one of
you a thousand dirhams,
let him not spend it and
then say 'Allah will sustain
me 65
- When he just sits at home I
fear he will start
expecting something to
be sent to him 94
- When I remember death
everything in this world
becomes contemptible 13
- When the Prophet was sent
I wanted to join together
trading and worship but
this proved impossible.
- So I quit trading and
turned to worship 67
- When *zakāt* is remitted out
of a treasure it is no
longer called a treasure 72
- Whenever I want to read my
eyesight is opened for me
101
- Why not find work? Do you
want to be notorious? 95
- Work and spend the surplus
of your need on your
close family as charity 47
- Work the market so that you
can keep family ties and
give to others 47
- You must have wealth and
increase it 64
- Your father memorised a
million hadiths 103
- Your thought about
tomorrow's sustenance is
recorded against you as a
sin 119

General Index

- ‘Ā’isha bint al-Ṣiddīq 47, 66,
 112, 120
 ‘Abbād b. ‘Abbād 64, 103
 ‘Abbād b. Hishām 107
 ‘Abbās b. Muḥammad al-
 Dūrī 21, 64, 71, 97
 ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Sa‘īd 56
 ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b.
 Ḥanbal 20-21, 23, 33, 45,
 47, 56, 62, 87, 89, 99,
 103, 115
 ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Āmir b.
 Rabī‘a 118
 ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr 75, 113
 ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Aṭā’ 63
 ‘Abd Allāh b. Busr 86
 ‘Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b.
 Ya‘qūb al-Ḥubulī 76
 ‘Abd Allāh b. Maṣṣūr b.
 Hibat Allāh 33, 45
 ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥaffal 115
 ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad
 b. Rabī‘a 60
 ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ al-‘Ijlī 63
 ‘Abd Allāh b. Sarjis 114
 ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Urwā 120
 ‘Abd Allāh b. Wahb 116
 ‘Abd al-A‘lā b. Mus‘hir 103
 ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Abī Rawwād
 83
 ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Alī *See* al-
 Azjī
 ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Ja‘far *See*
 Ghulām al-Khallāl
 ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad
See al-Mājishūn
 ‘Abd al-Jalīl b. ‘Aṭīyya 96
 ‘Abd al-Malik al-Maymūnī
 48, 50, 71
 ‘Abd al-Malik b. Sa‘īd b.
 Ḥayyān b. Abjar 81
 ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ziyād al-
 Naṣībī 80
 ‘Abd Rabbih b. Sulaymān b.
 Zunbūr 63
 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd
 Allāh b. al-Ḥakam 82
 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abzā 66
 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Affān
 101
 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf 67
 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī 54,
 60-61, 76, 79, 110, 118
 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b.
 Muḥammad b. Sallām 97
 ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan‘ānī
 56, 70, 80, 81, 105, 113
 ‘Abd al-Salām b. Ḥarb 61
 ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd al-
 Wārith al-Ḥimṣī 86
 ‘Abd al-Wahlāb b. ‘Aṭā’ al-
 ‘Ijlī 68, 69, 92
Abdāl 12, 101, 106, 107
 abstinence *see zuhd*
 Abū ‘Āṣim 82
 Abū ‘Awāna 82, 114
 Abū Bakr ‘Abd Allāh al-
 Ḥanafī 92
 Abū Bakr al-Marrūdī 20-
 22, 46-48, 54, 56-57, 59-
 60, 62, 70, 73, 77, 86, 89,
 93, 99-100, 119

- Abū Bakr al-Raddād 97
 Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq 56, 58, 66, 103
 Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith 115
 Abū Bakr b. Ḥammād al-Muqri’ 55
 Abū Bakr b. ‘Iyāsh 100
 Abū Bakr b. Jannād 49
 Abū Bakr b. Ṣadaqa 97
 Abū al-Dardā’ 13, 67, 122
 Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī 18, 21, 47, 67, 89, 93, 103
 Abū Dharr 89
 Abū al-Duḥā b. Ṣubayḥ 72
 Abū al-Faṭḥ *See* Naṣr b. al-Mughīra
 Abū al-Ghayth 75
 Abū Ghudda, ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ 16, 23, 29, 62, 72, 76, 79, 82, 91, 93, 95-96
 Abū Ḥamza 63
 Abū Ḥanīfa 120, 121
 Abū al-Ḥārith 89, 90-91
 Abū al-Ḥasan al-Zāhid 55
 Abū Ḥaṣīn ‘Uthmān b. ‘Āṣim 72-73
 Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī 13, 18, 83
 Abū Ḥayyān 62
 Abū Ḥāzim 56
 Abū Hurayra 67, 70-71, 75, 91, 113, 116, 120
 Abū ‘Imrān al-Tarasūsī 102
 Abū Ishāq al-Sabī’ī 62, 66, 74-75, 100
 Abū Ja‘far al-Hadhdhā’ 57
 Abū Ja‘far al-Khurāsānī 54, 56
 Abū al-Jamāhir Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān al-Tanūkhī 25, 75
 Abū Ma‘n al-Raqāshī 65
 Abū Mu‘āwiya al-Aswad 30, 95, 100, 101
 Abū Muṣ‘ab al-Zuhrī 103
 Abū Nu‘aym 12-13, 49, 55, 67, 86, 96, 107, 109, 113-114
 Abū Qilāba 17, 49
 Abū Rāfi‘ 71
 Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī 66, 70
 Abū Salama b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān 115
 Abū Ṣāliḥ 56
 Abū Sinān Ḍirār b. Murra 96
 Abū Sufyān al-Ḥārith b. Manṣūr al-Wāsiṭī 96
 Abū Umayya 25, 75
 Abū Usāma 60, 70
 Abū ‘Utba *see* Aḥmad b. al-Faraj
 Abū Wā’il 60, 61, 102
 Abū Yaḥyā al-Ḥammānī 103
 Abū Yaḥyā Yazīd b. al-Kalā‘ī 67
 Abū Yūsuf 120
 Abū Yūsuf al-Ghasūlī 12, 19, 59, 102, 109
 Abū Zabyān 64
 Abū al-Zinād 115
 Abū Zur‘a al-Rāzī 83, 103
 Abyssinia 115
 accepting government subsidies and praying for the ruler 17
Ādāb al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī 108

- al-Adab al-Mufrad* 19, 53
 Adana 80
 adze (*qadūm*) 53
 'Affān b. Muslim 103
 affluence (*sa'a*, *yasār*) 62, 66
 agriculture 11, 97
 agrarian Asian Muslim communities 74
 agricultural land revenue (*ghalla*, *kharāj*) 49-50, 63
Ahl al-Sunna 11, 14-15, 22, 103, 109, 111
 Aḥmad b. al-Faraj Abū 'Utba al-Ḥimṣī 57-58, 61
 Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥassān 74, 76
 Aḥmad b. Maṣṣūr b. Sayyār al-Ramādī 21, 56, 80, 96
 Aḥmad b. Maṣṣūr Zāj al-Marrūdhi 64
 Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Abū al-Ḥārith al-Ṣā'igh 91
 Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Muqri' 57
 Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barāthī 58
 Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-Khuzā'i 103
 Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. 'Aṭā' 83
 Aḥmad b. Ya'qūb 55
akhbaranā 21, 23, 45, 123
 Akhḍar b. 'Ajlān 92
Akhḷāq Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal 20
 'Akkā (Acre) 56
 'Alā' b. al-Musayyab 66
 'Alī b. al-'Abbās al-Uṭrūshī 97
 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib 67, 72-73, 87, 116, 120
 'Alī b. Bakkār 57
 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn 55
 'Alī b. Maymūn al-Raqī 83
 'Alī b. Rabāḥ al-Lakhmī 65
 'Alī b. Thābit 97
 'Alī b. 'Uthmān 71
 'Alī b. Zayd 71
 alms, charity 47, 68, 71, 89
 'Alqama 112
 A'mash 62, 64, 67, 75, 102, 114-115, 119, 120
 al-Amīn (Caliph) 113
 'Āmir b. Rabī'a al-'Anzī 118
 'Āmir b. Sharāḥīl *See* al-Sha'bī
 'Amr b. 'Abd Allāh al-Hamdānī al-Sabī'i 100
 'Amr ibn 'Alī 122
 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ 3, 65
 'Amr b. Aslam al-Ṭarasūsī 101
 'Amr b. Dīnār 81, 82, 116, 119, 120
 'Amr b. 'Īsā b. Na'ama 68
 'Amr b. Qays 60, 61
 Anah ('Āna) 63, 112
 Anas b. Mālik 72, 88, 92, 105, 114, 122
anba'anā 23, 123
Anṣār 86
al-Arba'un al-Ṭusiyya 109
 'ard, 'arḍan 23, 99
 'Ārim 71
 Asad b. Mūsā 18
 Asad, Muhammad 69

- Ash'ath b. Shu'ba 53, 57
al-Ashbāh wal-Nazā'ir 17
 Ashhab 107
 Āṣim b. Abī al-Najūd 60-61
 Āṣim b. 'Ubayd Allāh 118
 al-Aswad b. Salīm 58
 al-Aswad b. Yazīd 112
 al-Athram 20
 al-'Awwām b. Ḥawshab 71
 al-Awzā'ī 119
 al-Azdī 58, 80
 al-Azjī 33, 46
 Bābūr 106
al-Badr al-Munīr 83
 al-Baghawī 103, 115
 Baghdad 49, 63, 77-78, 90,
 99, 111
 al-Ba'li 32
 Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib 67
 Banū Ḥublā 76
 Banū 'Ijl 112
 Baqiyya 57, 61
 al-Barāthī *See* Aḥmad b.
 Muḥammad b. Khālid
 al-Barbahārī 100
 barley 71, 81
 Bashshār b. Mūsā 64
 baskets (*quffā*) 70
bay' mabrūr 61
 al-Bayhaqī 15, 18, 99, 104-
 105
 al-Bazzāz 21
 beatific vision 103, 114
 begging 56-57, 90, 91, 93
al-Bidāya wal-Nihāya 104
 Bishr b. al-Ḥārith (Bishr al-
 Ḥāfi) 12-13, 19, 58-59, 89,
 96, 105-107
 Bishr b. Mūsā al-Asadī 63
 bleacher 54
 brickmaker 57
Bughyat al-Mutābi' li-Asānīd
Muḥammad al-Rābi' 25
Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh
Ḥalab 102
 al-Buhūti 100
 al-Bukhārī 3, 19, 53, 66-68,
 70, 75, 89, 91, 103-105,
 121
 al-Buwaytī 103
 canonical readings (*qirā'āt*)
 120
 categorical obligations (*al-*
farḍ) 14, 56, 68, 73-76, 91,
 94, 102, 108
 charity *see* alms
 Christian(s) 51-52, 106
 congregation, congrega-
 tional prayer 54, 118
 Consensus 115
 contentment (*riḍā, qanā'a*)
 15, 18
 coral 97
 Damascus 17, 25-35, 45, 95,
 101, 108
 Ḍamra 63, 70
 al-Dāraqutnī 45, 106
 al-Dārimī 13
 Darrān al-Ḥalabī 25
 datepalm, dates 63, 81, 112
dawānīq 54
 Dāwūd the Prophet 66, 70
 Dāwūd al-Ṭā'ī 15
 day labourer 48
 dependants 14, 54, 56, 60,
 73-75, 88, 116

- dervishes 11
despoliation (*ghaṣb*) 49
destitution *See* poverty
al-Dhahabī 13, 20, 22, 82-83, 92, 100-103, 109, 112-121
dhikr 104
al-Dībāj al-Mudhahhab fī Maʿrifat Aʿyān ʿUlamāʾ al-Madhhab 110
al-Dimashqī, Abū al-Faḍl 28
dinar(s), dirham(s) 11, 49, 54-55, 59-67, 72, 77-79, 92, 104, 112, 117
dispensation 50
Dīwān al-Shāfiʿī 121
donation 57, 60, 61
al-Duʿafāʾ wal-Matrūkīn 80
Dūrī *see* ʿAbbās al-Dūrī
estate (*dayʿa*) 50-51
faḍāʾil al-aʿmāl 31
Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān 108
al-Faḍl b. Dukayn (Abū Nuʿaym) 81, 103, 118
al-Faḍl b. Ziyād 47
Fahmī b. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Nāʿimī 31
family *See* relatives; dependants
faqīh, fuqahāʾ 12, 59, 108, 121
farḍ *see* categorical obligations
fasting every day of the year 112, 120-121
Fayḍ b. Ishāq 58
financial independence *see* independence
fitna 13, 80
food 11-13, 56-59, 63, 70, 73, 76, 79, 89, 93, 95, 101, 105, 112
—, force-feeding 95
—, never eating any unless certain of its licitness 12, 59, 102, 109
Four Imams and Their Schools 14
Fuḍāla b. ʿUbayd 49
Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ 19, 58, 105-107
Furber, Musa 9, 27
al-Furūʿ 100
garbage 95-96, 101
Gharīb al-Ḥadīth 100
al-Ghasūlī *see* Abū Yūsuf al-Ghasūlī
al-Ghazālī 16
ghinā, istighnāʾ 14, 17, 18, 49, 66, 114
Ghulām al-Khallāl 33, 46
gold 72, 95, 97
good name (*ʿird*) 64
Grammar of Arabic, A 69
Ḥabīb al-ʿAjāmī 108
Haddad, Gibril Fouad 12, 14, 27, 31, 157
al-Ḥaddād, Maḥmūd 27, 29, 49, 60-61, 67, 76, 80, 82, 87, 93
ḥaddathanā 21, 23, 46, 123
Haditha 112
Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth 91
Ḥakam b. ʿUtayba 61, 66, 69
al-Ḥakīm 68, 105
Ḥakīm b. Qays b. ʿĀṣim 64

- ḥalāl* 12, 14, 17, 60, 69, 102
 Ḥammād b. Salama 71, 72, 110
 Ḥammād b. Zayd 106, 110
 Hammām b. Munabbih 70
 Ḥanbal b. Ishāq b. Ḥanbal 111
 handiwork 11
 Hannād b. al-Sarī 18, 53
ḥarām 17, 74, 93, 102
 Ḥaramī b. Yūsuf 59
 Ḥarb b. Ismā‘īl 11, 21, 53, 56-57, 60, 64-65, 70, 71, 97
 Ḥarbī *see* Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq
 Ḥārith b. Miskīn 103
 Hārūn al-Ḥammāl 12
 Hārūn al-Rashīd (Caliph) 113, 114
 Hārūn b. Ma‘rūf 71
 Hārūn b. Sufyān al-Mustamli 58
 Hārūn b. Ziyād 53, 73
 Harvesting 112
 al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb 55, 96
 al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. ‘Affān 61, 63
 al-Ḥasan b. ‘Arafa 61, 108
 al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī 19, 60, 96, 107-108, 116
 al-Ḥasan b. al-Faraj 72
 al-Ḥasan b. Ismā‘īl 96
 al-Ḥasan b. al-Rabī‘ 60
Ḥāshiyat Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad 68
 al-Haythamī 61, 66, 68, 72, 105
 Ḥazm b. Abī Ḥazm 107
 Ḥazn b. Abī Wahb al-Qurashī 115
 heretics 15, 79
 Hilāl Abū al-Mu‘allā 105
Ḥilyat al-Awliyā’ 12-13, 49, 55, 67, 96, 107, 109, 113-114
 Ḥimṣ 113
ḥinth 88
 Hishām b. ‘Urwa 70, 91-92, 120
 Hishām b. Zayd 72
 hollow biscuit (*ka‘k*) 81
 honesty in trading 63, 70
 Ḥudayr 83-86
 Ḥudhayfa b. Qatāda al-Mar‘ashī 19, 57, 109
ḥulum 88
 Ḥurayth b. al-Rabī‘ al-‘Adawī 68
 al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Kirmānī 82
 al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. al-Aswad 55
 al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Sinān 72
 al-Ḥusayn b. Ziyād al-Marrūdhī 97
 Hushaym 71, 103, 106
 Ibadī 113
 Ibn ‘Abbās 67, 82, 100-116, 120
 Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr 64, 110-111
 Ibn ‘Abd al-Hādī, Yūsuf 27-28, 32, 34
 Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim 18, 115

- Ibn Abī al-Dunyā 18-19, 49,
56-57, 101
Ibn Abī Ḥātim 62, 83, 108,
115, 121
Ibn Abī al-Ḥawārī 101
Ibn Abī Mulayka 66
Ibn Abī Najīḥ 62, 82
Ibn Abī Shayba 66, 70, 82,
110, 117, 120
Ibn Abī ‘Umar 53, 73
Ibn Abī ‘Utba 56
Ibn Abī Ya‘lā 80, 91, 100,
105-106
Ibn Abī Zā’ida 103
Ibn ‘Adī 83
Ibn al-‘Adīm 102
Ibn al-A‘rābī 18, 102
Ibn Aslam 19, 30, 47, 77,
109
Ibn Baṭṭa 46
Ibn Farḥūn 110
Ibn Ḥajar 9, 25, 27, 30, 80,
96, 106, 109, 113, 121
Ibn Ḥazm 18
Ibn Ḥibbān 49, 83
Ibn al-Jawzī 12-13, 19, 47-
48, 59, 76, 80, 86, 102,
106, 108, 114, 118-119
Ibn Jurayj 119
Ibn al-Kamāl 33
Ibn Kathīr 104
Ibn Khuzayma 109
Ibn al-Mabrad/Mibrad *see*
Ibn ‘Abd al-Hādī
Ibn al-Madīnī 103, 110, 115,
119-122
Ibn Mahdī *see* ‘Abd al-
Raḥmān b. Mahdī
Ibn Ma‘īn *See* Yahyā b.
Ma‘īn
Ibn Mājah 47, 70, 71, 93,
108
Ibn Mandah 85
Ibn Mas‘ūd 104, 122
Ibn al-Mubārak 18, 60, 61,
80, 83, 105, 107, 108,
115, 121
Ibn Muflīḥ 32, 80, 100
Ibn Muḥayrīz 63, 111
Ibn al-Mulaqqin 83, 108
Ibn al-Mundhir 62
Ibn al-Musayyab 23, 115
Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn 32
Ibn Nūḥ 30, 63, 103, 111
Ibn Nuḡaym 17
Ibn Qudāma 32-33, 45, 100
Ibn Qutayba 53
Ibn Rajab 94
Ibn Sa‘d 114
Ibn Sallām 108, 110
Ibn Shabba 64
Ibn Shādhān 45
Ibn Shahrayār 21
Ibn al-Subkī 115
Ibn Ṭūlūn 32
Ibn al-Ṭuyūrī 45
Ibn ‘Umar 61, 83, 84, 111
Ibn ‘Uyayna 62, 81, 89, 103-
104
Ibn Wahb 110
Ibn Zurayq 32
Ibrāhīm *See* al-Nakha‘ī
Ibrāhīm b. Ad’ham 19, 54,
57, 60, 101, 102, 112, 119
Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq al-Ḥarbī
20-21

- Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b.
 Ja‘far *See* al-Sājī
 Ibrāhīm b. Sa‘d 103
 idleness 14
 Idrīs the Prophet 71
 ‘iffa 18
ijāza 24, 26, 31, 33, 46, 123
 ‘Ikrima 67, 81, 82, 113
 ‘Ilal 20
 ‘Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn 104
 incentive (*manbaha*) 64
 income 11, 14, 17, 48-49,
 56, 58, 64, 69, 71, 77
 independence 11, 14, 17,
 47-51, 54, 88, 91
 innovators (*muḥtadi‘a*) 88
 Inquisition (*miḥna*) 103, 111,
 113, 115
al-Inṣāf fī Taṣḥīḥ Mā Atlaq al-
Shaykh al-Muwaḥḥaq min al-
Khilāf 100
 Iraq, *See* also Baghdad 110
 Ishāq b. Dāwūd b. Ṣabīḥ 60,
 79
 Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Hānī’
 53, 73, 74
 Ishāq b. Manṣūr 20, 72
 Ishāq b. Rāhūyah 72, 99,
 109, 120
 Ishāq b. Sayyār al-Naṣībī 21,
 80
 Ishāq al-Shāhidī 122
al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsini al-
Tijāra 28
iṣlāḥ 50-53
Iṣlāḥ al-Māl 18, 19, 49, 56-57
 Ismā‘īl b. Abī Khālīd 61
 Ismā‘īl b. Abī Uways 103
 Ismā‘īl b. ‘Ayyāsh 108
 Ismā‘īl b. Yūsuf al-Daylamī
 96
 Ispahan 115
 Israelites *see* Jews
 Isrā‘īl 63, 74, 100
istithnā’ munfaṣil/muttaṣil 69
 Ja‘da b. Hubayra 73
 Ja‘far b. ‘Awn 64
 Jāhiliyya 102
jāmā‘a 54
Jāmi‘ al-‘Ulūm wal-Ḥikam 94
Jāmi‘ Bayān al-‘Ilm 64
Jāmi‘ li-Akhḥāq al-Rāwī wa-
Ādāb al-Sāmi‘ 110-122
Jāmi‘ Ma‘mar 113
Jāmi‘ Sufyān 117
al-Jāmi‘ li-‘Ulūm Aḥmad b.
Ḥanbal 20-21
al-Jarḥ wal-Ta‘dīl 83
 al-Jaṣṣāṣī 49
 al-Jazīra 51
 Jew(s) 71, 106, 113
 Jibrīl 84, 85
 jīhad 66, 100, 102, 123
 joint responsibility (*takāful*)
 18
 Jumū‘a 28, 45, 52, 58, 68,
 86-87, 90
 al-Junayd 76
Juz’ Ibn ‘Arafa 108
 Ka‘b al-Aḥbār 71, 113
 Kabbani, Muhammad
 Hisham 95
 Karkh 45, 78
Kāshif 83, 92, 100, 102, 109,
 112-117, 120
Kashshāf al-Qinā‘ 100

al-Kawsaj	20	<i>Manāqib al-Shāfiʿī</i>	99
al-Kawtharī	20, 29, 62	<i>al-Manhaj al-Aḥmad</i>	80
<i>khabar</i>	23	<i>Mansak al-Marwazī</i>	100
Khabbāb	105	Manṣūr b. Salama al-	
<i>kharāj</i>	63	Khuzāʿī	25, 75, 102
Khārīja b. Zayd	115	manual labour	53
al-Khaṭīb	18, 21, 22, 49, 50,	<i>al-Maqṣad al-Arshad</i>	80
79, 107, 110, 112, 122		al-Marʿashī <i>See</i> Ḥudhayfa b.	
<i>kirā</i>	52	Qatāda al-Marʿashī	
<i>Kitāb al-Buldān</i>	63	al-Mardāwī	100
<i>Kitāb al-Sunna</i>	22, 99	<i>Maʿrifat al-Ṣaḥāba</i>	86
Kufa	74, 116	marketplace	47, 48, 54
land development	50, 51	al-Marrūdhī <i>See</i> Abū Bakr al-	
land revenue	49	Marrūdhī	
lease (<i>kirā</i>)	52	marrying	106
liability (<i>ḥinth</i>)	88	— on the basis of a sura	
<i>Lubb al-Lubāb</i>	76	of Qurʾān for dowry	86
Luqmān the Wise	71	martyrdom	<i>See shahāda</i>
<i>madhhab</i>	100	Maʿrūf al-Karkhī	15
Madina	110, 115	Marwān al-Fazārī	105
Majd al-Dīn b. Taymiyya	20	material means	16, 17
al-Mājīshūn	25, 75, 110	<i>Matn Abī Shujāʿ</i>	9
Makhlūf, Ḥasanayn	79	al-Maymūnī	21, 58
Makḥūl	116	memorisers of Qurʾān	108
Makka	68, 76, 77, 82, 87, 94,	merchant (<i>tājir</i>)	62, 63, 70
111, 120		<i>mihna</i>	<i>see</i> Inquisition
<i>māl</i>	17, 64	<i>mīl</i>	52
Mālik b. Anas	105, 113, 115,	milk-fed baby lamb (<i>ḥamal</i>)	
122		79	
Maʿmar b. Rāshid al-		Misʿar	53, 67, 73
Ṣanʿānī	54, 70, 113	mismanagement	53
Maʾmūn (Caliph)	63, 111,	<i>Mizān al-ʾItidāl</i>	83
113-114		al-Mizzī	33, 45
<i>Manāqib al-Imām Aḥmad</i>	12,	money	55, 117
13, 47, 48, 80, 99		Mount Abū Qubays	94
<i>Manāqib al-Imām al-Aʿzam</i>		Muʿadh b. Jabal	102
<i>Sufyān b. Saʿīd al-Thawrī</i>		Muʿāfa b. ʿImrān	62
118		Muʿammal	118

- Mubāarak b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār
 b. Aḥmad *See* al-Ṣayrafi
 al-Mughīra b. Siqlāb 82-83
 al-Mughīra b. ‘Utba 116
al-Mughnī 45
al-Muḥarrar min al-Fiqh ‘alā
 Madhhab al-Imām Aḥmad
 ibn Hanbal 20
 Muḥammad al-Bāqir 63-64
 Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-
 Raḥmān 45, 60, 70
 Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-
 Raḥmān al-Ju‘fi 60
 Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-
 Raḥmān al-Zāhid 45
 Muḥammad b. Abī Hārūn
 53, 73, 74
 Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-
 Qāsim 58
 Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b.
 Ḥāzim 72
 Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-
 Simsār 88
 Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b. al-
 ‘Abbās al-Bāhili 82
 Muḥammad b. ‘Amr al-
 Makhzūmī 86
 Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b.
 Ḥazm 115
 Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b.
 Mukram 55
 Muḥammad b. Aslam b.
 Sālīm *See* Ibn Aslam
 Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn 47
 Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b.
 Mahdī 60, 120
 Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā b. Ziyād
 al-Dāmaghānī 80
 Muḥammad b. Ishāq 56
 Muḥammad b. Ismā‘il al-
 Aḥmasī 25, 65-67, 72, 74,
 91, 92, 120-121
 Muḥammad b. Ja‘far 89
 Muḥammad b. Mahdī b.
 Ja‘far 62
 Muḥammad b. Mu‘ādh 25,
 75
 Muḥammad b. Muḥammad
 al-‘Aṭṭār 55
 Muḥammad b. Muqātil 11,
 60
 Muḥammad b. Mūsā 48, 52
 Muḥammad b. Nūḥ b.
 Maymūn al-‘Ijlī *See* Ibn
 Nūḥ
 Muḥammad b. Rāfi‘ 109
 Muḥammad b. Salīm 66
 Muḥammad b. Sūqa 81
 Muḥammad b. Thawr 56
 Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd
 Allāh b. al-Munādī 21
 Muḥammad b. ‘Urwa 120
 Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān b.
 Abī Shayba 46
 Muḥammad b. Wāsi‘ 60
 Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-
 Kaḥḥāl 88
 Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-
 Aṣamm 58
 Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-
 Mustamlī 105
 Muḥannā 56
al-Muḥarrar min al-Fiqh ‘alā
 Madhhab al-Imām Aḥmad
 20
 al-Muḥāsibī 79

- Mujāhid b. Jabr 22, 61-62,
65-66, 69, 81-82, 114
Mu'jam al-Buldān 99
Mu'jam al-Kabīr 49, 64
Mu'jam al-Ṣaḥāba 85
Muntaẓam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk
wal-Umam 86
 al-Murādi 32
 Mūsā b. 'Alī b. Rabāḥ al-
 Lakhmī 65
al-Muṣannaf 66, 70, 82, 120
 Musayyab b. Ḥazn 115
 Musayyab b. Wādīḥ 53, 55,
 57
 Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj 3, 19, 24,
 25, 66, 71, 73, 75, 88-89,
 91, 103, 116
Musnad Aḥmad 3, 47, 99
 Mutalammis al-Ḍubā'ī 53
 Mu'tamir 96
 Muṭarrif b. 'Abd Allāh al-
 Shikhkhīr 64
 Mu'taṣim (Caliph) 52, 114
 Mutawakkil (Caliph) 105
 Muṭayyan 103
 Mu'tazilis, Mu'tazila 103,
 111, 114-115
 Muthannā al-Anbārī 89
 Muwaḍḍiḥ Awhām al-Jam'
 wal-Tafrīq 49
 al-Nābulusī 32
 al-Naḍr b. Shumayl 64, 109
 Nāfi' Mawlā Ibn 'Umar 23,
 83
 al-Nakha'ī, Ibrāhīm 63, 82,
 112
 al-Nasā'ī 18, 47, 89
 Naṣr b. al-Mughīra 55
 al-Nawawī 9, 76, 115, 122
 Nine Books 5, 24, 86, 107
 Nu'aym b. Ḥammād 103
Nukhbat al-Fikar fī Muṣṭalaḥ
Ahl al-Athar 9, 25, 27
 nuts 71
Nuzhat al-Nazar Sharḥ
Nukhbat al-Fikar 9
 opium 74
 obligations *see* categorical
 obligations
Oral and the Written in Early
Islam, The 24
 palm-leaves 70, 71
 pearl 97
 pilgrimage 15, 74, 77-79,
 81-82, 109
 poverty 13, 16, 18, 53, 74,
 66, 93
 prayer, missing the
 congregational 54
 Praying the *fajr* prayer with
 the same ablution as the
 last 'ishā prayer 107
 Proceeds of the land (*kharāj*)
 97
 property 11, 49, 51 *See also*
 wealth
 Prophet's purchase on
 credit 67
 Prophet's sale by auction 92
 prosperity (*yasār*) 66
 puberty (*ḥulūm*) 88
 pure and licit sustenance 73
 Qabiṣa b. 'Uqba 117
 Qādisiyya 53
Qam' al-Ḥirṣ 15
 al-Qa'nabī 25, 75

- al-Qārī, 'Alī 107
 al-Qāsim b. 'Awf 71
 al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b.
 Abī Bakr 23, 115
 al-Qāsim b. Sulaymān 97
 al-Qāsim b. 'Uthmān al-
 'Abdī 101
qaṣr al-amal 15
qaṣṣār 54
 Qatāda b. Di'āma 64, 68, 69,
 107, 114, 117
 Qaṭī'at Umm Ja'far 99
 Qays b. al-Rabī' 63
qirā'a, qirā'atan 23, 99, 123
qirāṭ 60
 Qudāma b. Shihāb 61, 96
quffa 70
 quietism 14
 Quraysh 64, 67
qurrā' 59, 108
 al-Qurṭubī 15
 Rajā' b. Abī Salama 63
 al-Raqqā 51, 63, 111
 Ra's al-'Ayn 51
 Rawdānī 45
 al-Rawwās 16
 relatives, close (*qarāba*) 47,
 49, 74-75, 88-89, 92-93
 See also dependants
 reliance *See* tawakkul
 Remembrance of Allah 12
al-Ridda 103
Risālat al-Mustarshidīn 79
Risālat al-Shāfi'i 122
 Ritter, Hellmut 28, 36
 Riyadh 30
rizq *See* food; income;
 sustenance
rukḥṣa 50
 Sahl b. Ibrāhīm 112
 Sahl b. Sa'd al-Sā'idī 86
 Sa'id b. 'Abd al-'Azīz 119
 Sa'id b. Abī 'Arūba 68, 69
 Sa'id b. Jubayr 81, 96, 114
 Sa'id b. Manṣūr 62
 Sa'id b. al-Musayyab 57, 64,
 65, 71, 113, 115
 al-Sājī 46
 al-Sakhtiyānī 49, 113, 114
Salaf 45, 74
 Salama b. Kuhayl 64, 116
 Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal
 47, 53, 88, 102, 104, 115
 Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥātim 96
 Sālīm b. 'Abd Allāh b.
 'Umar 115
 Salmān al-Fārisī 89
 Samarra (Surramanra'a) 63
samā'/sami'tu/sami'nā 23, 123
samṭ 18
 al-Saqāṭī, 'Alī and 'Abd al-
 Ghanī 31
 al-Saqāṭī, al-Sarī 102, 105
 Sāra bint 'Alī b. 'Abd al-
 Kāfi al-Subkiyya 33
 Sarī al-Saqāṭī 102, 105
 Sarī b. Yaḥyā 48, 116
sawīq gruel 81
 al-Ṣayrafī 22, 33, 45
 scavenging (*liqāṭ*) 57, 119
 Schoeler, Gregor 23
 scrupulosity about the
 licitness of food 102, 109,
 119; *See also* wara'
 self-sufficiency *See* indepen-
 dence; wealth

- Setia, Adi 28
 Seven *aḥruf* 122
 Seven Jurists of Madina 115
 Shabāba 82
 al-Sha‘bī 81, 97, 116
 al-Shādhakūnī 122
 al-Shāfi‘ī 107, 110, 119, 120, 122
 al-Shāghūrī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān 95
 shahāda, shahīd 68, 115
 al-Shām *See* Syro-Palestine
 Shaqīq b. Salama 102
Sharaf Aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīth 107
Sharḥ ‘Ayn al-‘Ilm 107
 Sharīk 67, 106, 110, 116
 Shaybān al-Rā‘ī 15
 Shu‘ayb b. Ḥarb 11, 54, 56, 57, 97
 Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj 61, 64, 66, 69, 100, 110, 114, 117
al-Shukr lillāh 101
 Shumayṭ 107
 Shurayḥ b. Maslama 96
Ṣifāt al-Ṣaḥwa 86, 102, 106, 114, 119
 Ṣifḥīn 51
 al-Silafī 45
Ṣilat al-Salaf bi-Mawṣūl al-Khalaf 45
Silk al-Durar 32
 silver 72, 95, 96, 97
 Simāk b. Ḥarb 67
 al-Sindī 68
 Sīrat al-Imām Aḥmad 102, 104, 115
 sitting idle 56-58, 86-91, 93-94
 Six Books 5, 18, 117
Sīyar A‘lām al-Nubalā’ 13, 20, 22, 101, 102, 114, 116, 119, 121
 al-Subaynī, Mu‘tazz 31
 subsidies 50
 Sufi(s), sufism 14-19, 47, 79-80, 105, 107, 109
 Sufyān (al-Thawrī) 11, 19, 53-56, 60-62, 65-66, 71, 73, 79, 96, 100-101, 107, 109-110, 112, 117-118
 Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna 16, 19, 22, 55, 62, 72, 97, 100, 102, 104, 119
 Sulaymān the Prophet 71
 Sulaymān al-Khawwāṣ 19, 57, 95, 109, 119
 Sulaymān b. Yasār 115
Sunan 19, 20, 83, 113, 117
Sunna Notes 27, 31
 sustenance 11, 22, 54, 58-59, 61, 69, 72-74, 77, 86-91, 105, 119 *See also* food
 Suwayd b. ‘Amr al-Kinānī 82
 al-Suyūṭī 76
 Syro-Palestine (al-Shām) 12, 51, 112
Ṭabaqāt al-Awliyā’ 108
Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila 80, 91, 100, 105, 106
al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 114
Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi‘iyya al-Kubrā 102, 115
 al-Ṭabarānī 49, 61, 64, 68
 al-Ṭabarī 62, 121
Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz 109, 118, 121

- al-Ṭahāwī 23
Tahdhīb al-Kamāl 96
Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb 96, 106,
 109, 113, 121
 Ṭahir b. Muḥammad al-
 Tamīmī 58
Talbīs Iblīs 19, 59, 76
 Ṭālib b. Qurra al-Adhanī 80
al-Tamhīd li-mā fil-Muwattaʿ
 min al-Maʿānī wal-Asānīd
 111
Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb 80
al-Taqrīb li-Sunan al-Bashīr
 al-Nadhīr 115
Tārīkh al-Islām 112
Tārīkh al-Madīnat al-
 Munawwara 64
Tārīkh Baghdād 50, 112
Tārīkh Ibn Maʿīn 97
al-Tarkhīṣ fil-Ikrām bil-Qiyām
 122
 Tarsus (Tarasūs) 63, 102
al-Taswīya bayna Ḥaddathanā
 wa-Akhbaranā 23
tawakkul 14-18, 58, 88, 93-97
 —, false 79, 86-91
tawassul 100
 Ṭawūs 15, 49
 taylor (*khayyāt*) 71
 teaching wages 49
 Thābit 71
 Thawr 75
 al-Thawrī *See* Sufyān
al-Tibyān fī Ādāb Ḥamalat al-
 Qurʾān 9
 al-Tirmidhī 16, 20, 47, 70,
 88-89, 92, 93, 104, 108
 tobacco 74
 trade 11, 14, 48-49, 54, 57-
 58, 60-62, 66-67, 69, 78,
 86, 90, 94
 trust in Allah *See* *tawakkul*
 truthfulness 17, 69, 93
 al-Tustarī 76
 Tyre (Ṣūr) 62
 ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mūsā 55
 ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUtba 115
 ʿal-Ulaymī 80
 ʿUmar b. ʿAlī 58
 ʿUmar b. Dharr 65, 81
 ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb 53, 58,
 64-68, 96, 102, 107, 113
 ʿUmar b. Ṣāliḥ 12
 Umayyads 64
 Umm Salama 107
 ʿUqba b. Mukram 76
 ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr 23, 70,
 91, 92, 115, 120
 ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān 63, 67,
 113
 ʿUthmān b. ʿUrwa 120
 Uways al-Qaranī 51, 95, 97
 ʿUyūn al-Akhbār 53
 voluntary pilgrimage 74
 voluntary worship (*nawāfil*)
 109
 Wabara 61
 Wahb b. Jābir al-Khaywānī
 75
 Wahb b. Munabbih 66
 Wakīʿ b. al-Jarrāḥ 18, 25,
 53, 61, 65-68, 72-75, 91-
 92, 120-122
waraʿ 16, 18, 20, 102; *See*
 also scrupulosity
 al-Warakānī 62

- Warqā' 62, 82
 Wāthiq (Caliph) 103
 weak reports in support of
 good deeds 31
 wealth 3, 14-18, 49-50, 59,
 65-69 *See also* property
 wool (*ṣūf*) 107
 work 11, 14-18, 45-50, 54-
 61, 65, 70, 77, 86-91, 95-
 97, 109
 working for hire (*kirā*) 52, 58
 Wright, William 69
 Yaḥyā al-Jallā' 12
 Yaḥyā b. Abī Ṭālib 21, 68, 69
 Yaḥyā b. Ādam 61, 62
 Yaḥyā b. 'Affān 63
 Yaḥyā b. Ja'far 92
 Yaḥyā b. Ma'im 83, 97, 101,
 110, 122
 Yaḥyā b. Sa'id al-Qaṭṭān 64-
 65, 103, 121
 Yaḥyā b. Ṣāliḥ 86
 Yāḥyā b. Ṭālib al-Anṭākī 55
 Yaḥyā b. 'Urwa 120
 Ya'qūb b. al-Mughīra *See*
 Abū Yūsuf al-Ghasūlī
 Ya'qūb b. Sufyān 21
 Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf al-
 Muṭṭawī'i 49
 al-Ya'qūbī, Aḥmad b. Abī
 Ya'qūb b. Wāḍiḥ 63
 al-Ya'qūbī, Muḥammad
 Abū al-Hudā 24
 Yāqūt al-Hamawī 99
 Yazīd b. 'Abd Allāh al-
 Aṣbahānī 72
 Yazīd b. Ibrāhīm al-Tustarī
 60
 Yemen 54, 76, 82
 Yūnus b. Abī Ishāq 66
 Yūnus b. 'Amr 100
 Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Hādī *see*
 Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī
 Yūsuf b. Asbāṭ 14, 55, 56,
 117
 Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusayn al-Rāzī
 105
 Yūsuf b. Mūsā 49, 74
 Yūsuf b. Muslim 57
 al-Za'farānī 99, 119
 Zakariyyā the Prophet 71
 Zakariyyā b. Yaḥyā al-Nāqid
 21
 Zakariyyā b. Yaḥyā (Abū
 Yaḥyā al-Nāqid) 48
 Zayd b. Thābit 107
 Zaynab bint al-'Awwām al-
 Asadiyya 120
 Zoroastrian(s) 106
 Zubayr b. al-'Awwām 91, 92
 Zubda the sister of Bishr 106
 Zufar b. al-Hudhayl 120
 Zuhayr b. Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad 52
al-Zuhd 13, 15, 18, 53, 71,
 96, 102
zuhd, zāhid 13-18, 32, 89,
 102, 106-107, 116
 al-Zuhri 23, 119, 120

About the Translator

Born and raised in Lebanon, Dr. Gibril Fouad Haddad went to school in England and the United States then studied the sciences of *Sharīʿa* for nine years in Damascus. He holds scholarly licenses (*ijāzas*) from 150 shaykhs and has authored three dozen books and hundreds of articles in Islamic hermeneutics, doctrine, hadith, biography and heresiology. His latest work is *The Muhammadan Light in the Qurʾān, Sunna, and Companion-Reports*. He lives in Brunei Darussalam.

